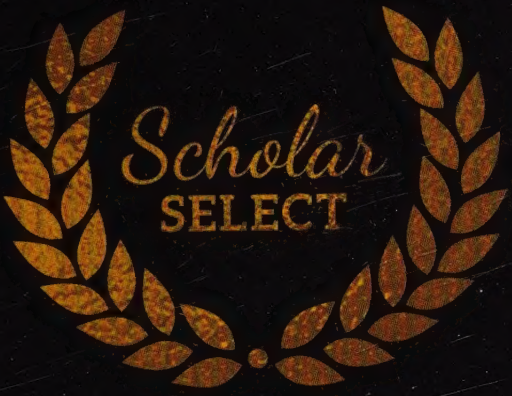
The Community

An Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization



EDUARD LINDEMAN

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THE COMMUNITY

An Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization

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To

The Communities of the State of Michigan —Towns, Villages, and Open Country—and Their Leaders with Whom I Was Privileged to Spend Four Happy Years of Intimate Service, and from Whom I Learned Most of What I Have Here Presented Concerning "The Community."

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PREFACE

Discontent with current political, economic, and social organization appears to be well-nigh universal. Men everywhere are attempting to work out a new way of living together. We live in a period which is likely to produce many theories. Extremists of one sort will want the entire structure of the present destroyed. Extremists of another sort will insist on keeping the old machinery intact. In the meantime, a few men and women here and there will be attempting to evaluate the resources of the present world; these have abandoned all short-cuts to progress, and have set for themselves the task of building the future out of the materials at hand.

Science has produced a technology which now permeates and affects all of modern life. The technologists or the specialists are indispensable to modern communities. All divisions of knowledge have been divided into smaller divisions. The specialist selects his field and devotes his life to it. The rapid increase of knowledge since the beginning of the use of the scientific method has made specialism inevitable.

But the specialist is not happy; he is not free to promote his speciality, nor is he cordially encouraged to lend his aid in solving modern

problems. Specialism is apparently in conflict with some other current in modern life. It is my assumption that this conflicting factor is the social force which usually goes by the name of Democracy. The materials of this text revolve about these two forces: Specialism and Democracy. How may these two forces be interpreted as elements of social progress?

In seeking an answer to the above query, I have devoted ten years of study to the local community. Half of that period was spent in practical contact with communities. The other half has been divided between the accumulation of studies, and interpretations to students. I have looked upon the community as the unit of social organization in which lies the greatest element of hope for permanent progress. This does not imply that I put out of mind the essential functions of larger units, such as counties, states, and nations. These larger units are essential in proportion to their usefulness to the smaller community units; they frequently become inimical to the wholesome growth of the smaller, organic units.

The Community Movement may appear to many to be disintegrating in tendency. Superficially, this is true. We have drifted toward control "from the top," until control from within appears to be, not only difficult, but con-

trary to progress. The determination with which peoples everywhere are struggling for release from "outside" controls presents a picture of disintegration. This must be regarded as a temporary phase of adjustment. When the Community Movement has produced a philosophy and a technique which is intelligible to the minds of the so-called common people, there will come into being a new relationship between community units and the larger units. I confine myself in this text to a consideration of the former.

It will be noted that extensive references have been avoided. The general reader has little need for such references; the student will be directed to the literature on the community by teachers, and through the problems which follow each chapter. The book is designed to meet the needs of classes studying community organization. Its further purpose is to present a non-mechanistic interpretation of the Community Movement to teachers, pastors, secretaries of Young Men's Christian Associations, Young Women's Christian Associations and community leaders in general.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN.

Greensboro, N. C.,
June, 1921.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL NATURE OF MAN

The problem of civilization is the problem of establishing good human relationships. Man is destined by nature and by environment to live in cooperation with his fellow-men. The purpose of social organization is to bring about amicable relationships between men and groups of men.

Man is born with three instinctive traits, which, in a large degree, give direction to all his motives and his acts. Each of us is born with the impulse to preserve his own life; this is known as the *self-preservation* instinct. Each normal human being is also endowed with the instinct to perpetuate himself; this is known as the instinct of *self-perpetuation.* And each of us is born with the impulse to express his own personality; this is called the instinct of *self-assertion.*

The student may at once ask, "How can man be destined to cooperative life when his whole instinctive equipment seems to fit him for *self*-preservation, *self*-perpetuation, and *self*-asser-

tion, in short, for *selfishness?*" It is precisely in this sphere of self-seeking that man is forced to reveal his inherent social nature. His great and dominant impulse or interest is to survive. How can survival be accomplished? By preserving one's self, by perpetuating one's self and by asserting one's self. Each one of these instinctive processes of man involves relationships with other human beings. An examination of these three principal impulses or instincts of man is necessary.

The Social Nature of the Instinct of Self-Preservation

The new-born child has the impulse of self-preservation. This impulse is accompanied by the feeling of hunger. To satisfy this hunger, the child must secure food. The search for food and the final acquisition of food involve a series of physical acts which need not be learned. The child is equipped with the reflexes and the series of reflexes which make it possible to accomplish its end. Sucking, swallowing, digesting—these are physical acts which it accomplishes without instruction. But the complete series of reflexes which are essential for the satisfaction of hunger involves cooperation with the child's mother. At the very be-

ginning of its life, the child finds itself dependent upon another human being for its survival.

As the child grows, it becomes evident that there are certain other instinctive tendencies such as fighting, flight, rivalry, belonging (gregariousness), acquisition, etc., which in their origins were essential to survival. To preserve one's self demands the use of the instinct of flight. The accompanying emotion of fear is the natural warning, the safeguard which prevents annihilation. Man soon learns, however, that by combining his strength with that of others, he can preserve himself more effectively. This combination for protection, or for fighting, is, of course, a conscious process. But it is the only method whereby the instincts can adequately express themselves. Without cooperation, it would be merely a matter of time before a species would annihilate itself. In short, it is the social expression of the self-preserving instinct which in the end preserves the individual.

The Social Nature of the Self-Perpetuation Instinct

The impulse of self-perpetuation expresses itself primarily in the realm of sex. The human race is bisexual and cannot perpetuate itself

without cooperation between the sexes. The physical acts and the emotional accompaniments of sex, such as parental love, filial love, sexual love, jealousy, etc., are all indicative of human relationships. Sex-gratification and child-rearing are the corner stones of the social organization, known as the family. There is no purely individualistic means of satisfying the sex desires excepting in cases of sex-perversion and abnormalities. The normal expression of sex desires leads directly to forms of social organization. From the family it is but a short step to the organization of a number of families into the tribe and later into the state or nation.

The Social Nature of the Instinct of Self-Assertion

Man is not content merely to preserve his life and to perpetuate it in his offspring. There exists also the instinctive urge to express his individual personality. This instinct manifests itself in early childhood in various forms of play, imitation and manipulation. In later stages, there appear the distinct longings for leadership, for power and prestige. The instinct of self-assertion lies at the bottom of play, art, drama, politics and religion. These are all, in their highest forms, social expressions.

One of man's chief tools for self-assertion is language. It is at once evident that language is a social product. It never could have come into existence without cooperation. In fact, man's urge for self-assertion is essentially a process of communicating "himself" to his social group.

Self-assertion is impossible without other human beings upon whom the "self" is asserted. And when the forms of self-assertion come under social control, they give rise to the various forms of association and organization which mark the increasing social nature of humankind.

Thus far we have considered the social nature of man's instinctive equipment. But man has two environments—one social and one material. Does the material or physical environment of man impose conditions which also foster cooperation?

It is evident that just as man cooperates to protect himself from other men so he also cooperates to protect himself from the dangers of his physical environment. It is in this sphere that man is differentiated from the animals. All other animals adapt themselves to their environments or suffer the penalty of death. Man faces the same imperative, "Adapt or die!" but man avoids the penalty by changing

his environment. Man's exploitation of his physical environment to satisfy his increasing wants is the story of a gigantic, cooperative enterprise. Without the various forms of association it is not conceivable how man could have survived the stronger and larger animals, or the rigors of climate.

The very handicap which man faces in his physical environment forces him to unite with others in rising above this environment. The pioneer settlement, as well as the modern industrial corporation, represents man's method of dealing with his material environment; it is distinctly a method of associations, combination, amalgamation—of social cooperation.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Keep a record of one week's activities. Tabulate all of your activities for this period in fifteen-minute divisions. At the close of the week summarize the record and indicate the following:

(a) The number of your activities which were related to other people.

(b) The percentage of your activities which were related to other people, as compared with the percentage of activities which were individualistic.

2. Construct a chart of the three human instincts on the following plan:

Instinct.	Physical manifestation, or reflex acts, related to the instinct.	Psychic state or emotion accompanying the act.
1. Instinct of self-preservation.	1. Sucking. 2. Swallowing. 3. Flight. 4. Fighting, etc.	1. Hunger. 2. Fear. 3. Anger, etc.
2. Instinct of self-perpetuation.		
3. Instinct of self-assertion.		

3. State in your own words what you think the following words mean: (a) instinct, (b) reflex act, (c) emotion, (d) impulse.

CHAPTER II

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE COMMUNITY

Social cooperation leads directly to the establishment of certain units in which people live under common laws and follow common customs. Social regard increases as the members of the human family become more and more interdependent. The process of increasing social regard follows the course of:

The individual's regard for his relatives: *Family.*

The individual's regard for his neighbors: *Neighborhood.*

The individual's regard for those living within the same local area of law and custom: *Community.*

The individual's regard for the political association of communities: *The State or Nation.*

The individual's regard for all members of the human family: *The World.*

It is difficult to see how man may arrive at a stage of socialization which embraces the

whole human family unless he has experienced fully the relationships involved in the preceding systems of regard. The community, which is an aggregate of families, is the vital unit of society in which the individual secures his education, receives his standards of health and morality, expresses his recreational tendencies and labors to earn his share of worldly goods. The neighborhood is also an aggregate of families but with this distinction: the community is an organized unit with institutions having specific functions, while the neighborhood is merely the group of families living within an acquaintance area.

Numerous attempts have been made to define a community. These definitions may be classified as follows:

1. The *geographic* community. A description of a community in terms of land area. Thus an incorporated village with definite boundaries, a township, a county, may be described as a community.
2. The *political* community. A description of a community based upon its system of government. According to this type of definition, a community consists of the people who live under the laws of the smallest political unit.
3. The *social* community. A description of a community based upon the group which

maintains a system of social intercourse. This definition includes all of the people who congregate or associate for sociable purposes.

4. The *economic* community. A description of a community based upon common economic processes. This definition is frequently called the "trade center" theory of the community. It implies that the economic processes determine the other interests of life, and that the community consists of the people who are attached to a common economic center.

5. The *psychological* community. A description of a community based upon like-mindedness. This definition implies that the real community does not exist until there is a consciousness of group adherence. In other words, there must be a certain homogeneity of mind before a real community comes into being.

The student should analyze the following definitions of a community:

"A community consists of a group or company of people living fairly closely together in a more or less compact, contiguous territory, who are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life."—R. E. Hieronymus.

"We must not confuse a 'community' with a 'neighborhood.' A neighborhood is simply a group of families living conveniently near together. The neighborhood can do a great

many things, but it is not a community. A true community is a social group that is more or less self-sufficing. It is big enough to have its own centers of interest—its trading center, its social center, its own church, its own schoolhouse, its own grange, its own library, and to possess such other institutions as the people of the community need. It is something more than a mere aggregation of families. There may be several neighborhoods in a community. A community is the smallest social unit that will hold together. Theoretically, a community could live unto itself; though that would be actually impossible, just as it is impossible for an individual to live really a hermit. A community is a sort of individualized group of people. It is both the smallest and the largest number of people that can constitute a real social unit. It is a sort of family of families."—Kenyon L. Butterfield.

"A study of any (rural) community reveals first the indefiniteness of its boundaries. One may have civil districts, townships, towns, but within each of these there may be communities. Each may, and in fact does, merge more or less into neighboring communities. It is difficult, therefore, to define exactly what a rural community is. One would say that it is composed of a more or less well defined group of neighbors having many interests in common. A community cannot be given rigid boundaries. It is a flexible organism. One speaks of a community center, but this does not imply a geo-

graphic center with definite lines of given radius. A community center is rather the headquarters of a local interest and may be very much to one side of a district or other civil boundary. Community implies neighborhood, but here again we have a word that may be expanded or restricted at will."—E. L. Morgan.

"A (rural) community consists of the people in a local area tributary to the center of their common interests. The community is the smallest geographical unit of organized association of the chief human activities. The community, however, is not an area, nor an aggregation or association, but rather a corporate state of mind of those living in a local area. Most communities have within them several neighborhoods, where a number of homes are clustered together, possibly around a school, church, or mill, but with only one—if any—center of interest. The community is an area in which at least several of the more fundamental human interests find organized expression, at, or near-by, a common center."—Dwight Sanderson.

"A community is an idea whose function is a definite territorial area, whose superstructure is a set of like interests consciously recognized as common interests, essential among which are votes, education and work; and whose soul is the sense of fellowship and association for mutual aid. It is not an act but a process. It is not made by law but created by education. The degree of its work in any given place is

determined by the kind and number of right relationships established among the members of such a political unit."—Henry E. Jackson.

"The (rural) community should be defined as a group of farms served by the same primary trade center. Other rural social areas held together by one or two common interests are neighborhoods and not communities in the true sense of the term. The primary center is that town or village where a farm family buys the primary necessities of life in the way of food, clothing, etc., and meets neighbors and acquaintances for ordinary business and social relationships. The secondary trade center is the larger and more remote town or city ministering to the exceptional demands of farm family life, as through newspaper circulation, courts, occasional lectures, the supply of ready-made garments, etc."—Mabel Carney.

"The community consists of a group of people living together in a single locality and bound together by common interests. They are also subject to common laws."—A. W. Dunn.

"The word 'community' implies an association of people having common interests and common possessions, bound together by laws and regulations which express these common interests and ideals and define the relation of the individual to the community."—George W. Russell.

"The community is a form of social grouping that lies midway between the neighborhood and the state or nation. It lacks the immediate

face-to-face association of the neighborhood, and it does not have the completeness and self-sufficiency that characterizes the nation or the state. In American life the term 'community' generally connotes a group living within a rather closely prescribed geographical area, the members of which are bound together by the necessity or convenience of fulfilling certain essential needs in a cooperative way. Local government is probably the most distinguishing feature of a community."—C. C. North.

"The very definition of community is a body of men who have things in common, who are conscious that they have things in common. A community is unthinkable, unless you have a vital inter-relationship of parts. There must be such a contact as will constitute union itself before you will have the true course of the wholesome blood through the body."—Woodrow Wilson.

With these various viewpoints in mind, it should be possible to construct a workable idea of a community. At least, it is possible to know the attributes of an ideal community, and this will afford a basis for studying the community in which the student lives. Ideal communities do not, of course, exist. An ideal community should furnish to its human constituents:

1. *Order*, or security of life and property through the medium of an efficient government.

2. *Economic well-being,* or security of income through an efficient system of productive industry.
3. *Physical well-being,* or health and sanitation through public health agencies.
4. *Constructive use of leisure time,* or recreation through organized and directed play.
5. *Ethical standards,* or a system of morality supported by the organized community.
6. *Intellectual diffusion,* or education through free and public institutions within the reach of all.
7. *Free avenues of expression,* or means by which all the elements of the community might freely express themselves; free newspapers and public forums.
8. *Democratic forms of organization,* or community-wide organization through which the entire community might express its thought and see that its will is done.
9. *Spiritual motivation,* or religious associations which might diffuse throughout all forms of community organization the religious or spiritual motive.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Why is an army camp not a community?
2. Construct your own definition of a community.

3. Devise a community score-card, using as many points for scoring as you think desirable. After the score-card is completed, tabulate the scores and the total score for your community.
4. Write a description of the neighborhood in which you live.
5. Write a brief historical and descriptive sketch of the community in which you live.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

It is customary to divide community institutions into two groups: the *primary* and the *secondary* institutions. The attributes of a primary group are:

1. Stability.
2. Intimate social unity.

The family and the neighborhood are usually regarded as the two primary groups of our society. It is in these groups that the child receives its first social experiences. These two groups are more stable than other forms of association. In fact, other forms of association arise out of the elements of the family and the neighborhood.

Another method of considering institutions is to regard some of them as *component* and others as *constituent* groups. The component group is genetic; it offers the basis for propagating the race. The constituent group is voluntary; it is an association of people for certain

purposes. The only true component group is the family and all other forms of human organization must be considered as being constituent, inasmuch as we are not born into them but must in some manner join them voluntarily. These two types of association may be defined in broad terms as follows:

1. Component groups: composed of both sexes and of all ages, such as families, villages, communities, tribes; the more or less natural or genetic groups.
2. Constituent groups: voluntary organizations for carrying on a particular activity or achieving a particular end such as churches, schools, lodges, etc.

In general it has become customary to consider the home, the school, the church and the government as the primary or essential institutions of a community and all others, secondary or supplemental. The best method of gaining a conception of the institutional character of a modern community is to study a number of typical institutions in connection with their true functions.

The Family

The family is often regarded as the germ of society—the molecule of human matter which separates to form more units. The organic

5. Prevention of exploitation of women in industry.
6. Constructive use of leisure time.
7. Democratic organization of the family, based upon equal property rights, equal political rights and equal social rights.

The modern family is passing through a period of great strain and stress. From the sociological viewpoint, it is highly important that all community institutions shall so function as to strengthen the integrity of the family group.

The Church

The organized church, like the family, is facing a crisis. As society becomes more and more complex, it becomes necessary to divide the labor of its institutions. Many functions, formerly performed by the church, are now assumed by other agencies.

The centrifugal forces let loose by the Protestant Reformation have caused a great multiplicity of sects and denominations. Religious prejudices sink deeper than most others, and many communities are now incapable of good social cooperation because of religious differences and religious feuds.

In its desire to play an important rôle in the community, the church frequently commits great social errors. Most of these errors may be traced to a lack of understanding regarding the division of labor among social institutions, and to the absence of clear and definitely stated functions of the church. The division of labor among institutions must inevitably continue; the course of events cannot be reversed by having the church reassume functions legitimately lost in the process of social evolution.

Viewed from the sociological standpoint, the function of the modern church might be stated as follows:

1. The church should teach fundamental religion.
2. The church should interpret religious literature in terms of modern life and its problems.
3. The church should act as a social unifier in the community.
4. The church should apply its ethico-religious principles to the prevailing industrial, political, recreational, and educational life of the community.
5. The church should furnish inspiration for all worthy community endeavors.

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5. The church should furnish inspiration for all worthy community endeavors.

6. The church should assist in training and furnishing the leadership for worthy community institutions and movements.

The church is or ought to be equipped to perform the above-mentioned functions. If they were to be adequately performed, the community life would be motivated by a distinct spiritual incentive. Most communities have sufficient social machinery; the church should furnish the spiritual forces to give both motive power and direction to the machinery's operation.

The Community Ideal for All Institutions

Institutionalism is in itself a menace to community improvement. When an institution functions primarily to enhance its own welfare and growth, it is certain in the end to jeopardize the interests of the community as a whole. This presents one of the chief problems of democracy. How can we secure efficient institutions which will at the same time contribute to the welfare of the community?

An institution which is to function properly in the democratic community must be inclusive rather than exclusive. It must not run parallel to class lines; it must cut across the lines of

class-cleavage. Mere institutionalism quickly becomes organized selfishness. One of the fundamental principles of social progress is that social advancement must occur in all phases of life. Advancing one phase beyond others endangers all others. When an institution comes to think more of its own advancement than of the advancement of the community, it is out of harmony with true progress.

The Twentieth Century witnessed the rise of numerous institutions. In their struggles for existence, many of these institutions became competitive. The time of reckoning has now come and there is a wide-spread feeling that all human institutions must reconstruct their programs in accordance with the community ideal.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. What functions do you think the family should lose? State reasons.
2. Describe a plan whereby the churches in your community might cooperate to serve the entire community.
3. How could such an institution as the Young Men's Christian Association become a community institution?

4. Name and describe all the institutions in your community.

5. Do you believe that all of the institutions of your community should cooperate? If so, state a plan of organization for such co-operation.

CHAPTER IV

THE VITAL-INTEREST GROUP

The life of an individual is most vitally affected by the group in which he most vitally lives. This group varies with the increasing age of the individual. The essential social functioning of a community is performed by, and through, these vital-interest groups. Such a group is one in which the individual feels himself vitally included; the group which gives the individual the full sense of "belonging." In adult society there frequently occurs a conflict of interest groups, a division of loyalty which makes it difficult to determine which group is most vitally affecting the individual. But, even in complex communities, with numerous organizations and interest groups, the individual ultimately finds his most vital expression in a single group.

Considered from the viewpoint of a growing or developing individual, the normal community groups belonging to this discussion are:

1. The Home or Family Group.
2. The Neighborhood Group.

3. The Play Group.
4. The School Group.
5. The Church Group.
6. The Work Group.
7. The Service Group.

The origin, functioning, and structure of these groups should be a part of the community leader's knowledge. These groups not only represent the standards of the community in culture, in success, and in creativeness, but they undoubtedly give to the community its essential character. It is out of these groups and by complexes of these groups that most other forms of organized effort in the community proceed.

The Home or Family Group

The home group, in which the child makes his first social discoveries and has his first social experiences, is his most vital group for the first three years of life. Under ordinary circumstances, the influence of the home begins to wane after the third year. This does not indicate that the home loses its influence over the individual entirely; this does occur, of course, in certain cases, but these must be regarded as pathological instances.

There are many indications in the language of the child which show the grip which his home

group has upon him. When, for example, the child discovers some new custom or manner in a visited home and he immediately cries out, "Oh, we don't do that way at *our* house!" it is quite evident that the child is judging all habits, customs, manners, etc., by the standard of his own family group. His experience has not radiated beyond this group and naturally it forms his only basis of judgment. It may be safe to assume that so long as the child compares, unfavorably, other social habits to those of his family, he is living most vitally in the home group. Conversely, when he begins to apply the standards of other groups to his family group, it may be assumed that the home group has begun to lose some of its vital or paramount influence. The transition from the home-group standards to broader standards constitutes an important phase of growth.[1]

In an age in which social standards are in flux, when the stability of codes of behavior is threatened, the transition from home to broader standards presents a series of dangerous possibilities. If the family group is attempting to maintain a system of behavior

[1] The student will note that this text differs from that of most books which deal with the development of the child The biological or physiological changes have received sufficient, if not undue, emphasis in books on child life What is here attempted is a sociological and a psychological analysis Ultimately the physiological adjustments, which have received so much attention, are important because they result in changes of social conduct.

which is not in harmony with the changes going on elsewhere, the children of the family will be sorely tempted. The so-called "good," or "best," families are usually the ones which cannot bear the strain of transition. It is in such families that the greatest tragedies occur, for when the static and impossible standard of such a group is abandoned, it is likely to be absolute abandonment.

In a true neighborhood or an integrated community, it would be possible to obviate the dangers attending the waning influence of the home. The parents of children in such a community would know that the home group must inevitably lose its sole influence in the child's life, and they would divert some of their energies to the creation of proper standards in the other groups of the community. They would not, as now so often happens, embitter their children by contending for a strict adherence to the family-group standards, which to the children has become an impossibility.

The Neighborhood Group

The neighborhood group consists of those families within walking distance of the home of any particular individual. It is made up of both children and adults. It begins to make its

impact upon the life of the child about the third year. This, of course, varies with the precocity of the child and with the nature of the neighborhood. In a rural community where the neighboring families are separated by distances of from one-fourth to two miles, the child will not make vital neighborhood contacts as early as in the third year.

The first noticeable shift in emphasis begins to manifest itself in the speech of the child. He reverses his former method of comparing other homes to his; he now compares other homes with others.

Children frequently develop quaint or peculiar modes of expression such as the broad or the flat sounding of the letter "a." Within the family group, this habit or peculiarity of speech is regarded as worthy of admiration. At any rate, it is not discouraged. When such mannerisms are displayed in the presence of the neighborhood group, they attract attention; perhaps they are made the object of ridicule. This immediately causes the child to begin a series of tests for his behavior.

He now makes conscious or unconscious efforts to approximate the standards of the neighborhood group. The home group is no longer the absolute and the final authority in his system of behavior. In rapid succession the neighbor-

hood imposes upon the child a series of standards which vary slightly or markedly from the standards of his home. The simple discipline of the home will no longer suffice. What mother has not stood helpless before a pleading child whose only argument is the fact that some other child is permitted to have the object for which he begs?

Shortsighted parents are jealous of their prerogatives. They do not understand that the child must ultimately find himself in larger social circles and that he is now making those stumbling, halting adjustments which will either make or mar his future social success. To stubbornly resist these adjustments is to reveal a weakness which the child will eventually utilize in destroying the authority of the home.

The Play Group

The play group is distinguished from the neighborhood group in the respect that it is constituted of persons of the same general age, while the neighborhood group is made up of families or of persons of all ages.

If the adult could secure the viewpoint of play the child has, he would no doubt be thoroughly convinced of its vital nature. In this sphere of life, the child makes his own choices. He may walk blocks away to find

playmates, overlooking entirely those who live next door. When he is old enough to make conscious choices of playmates, he enters a social relationship which is destined to be more powerful in shaping his character and his personality than any other force, with the doubtful exception of hereditary tendencies.

It may also be stated that the choices which human beings of all ages make, when they are free from compulsion, determine their essential characters.

The play group becomes, naturally, the most vital group with which the child becomes affiliated. This group becomes the laboratory in which the entire ethical system of home, school and church is tested and the weaknesses and the strengths of the human metal are brought to the surface. This is the child's world, a world which we grown-ups may enter only through the imagination, or by the miracle of that rare memory which recaptures the intensity of childhood days.

The neuro-muscular coordination which will control so much of future bodily activity; the degrees of mental alertness which distinguish between the mediocre and those who have great desires; the senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, feeling, which limit real enjoyment of life; those subtle psychological processes which de-

termine the selfish or the cooperative career;—all of these factors of life receive their determining tendency during the periods of life when play is the most important and the most vital element of existence. To provide a sound environment for these natural play groups is the beginning of a scientific program of progress.

The School Group

The school group is not so absorbing as the play group; it does not grip the vital interests of the child in the same manner, or in the same degree. There are, of course, instances when the play group and the school group become synonymous. Or there are instances where the play group is merely a division of the school group. The school group must, however, be considered apart from those groups already discussed.

The school takes the child at an early age. It demands a goodly portion of his waking hours. It gives direction to his mental processes. It is, nevertheless, an arbitrary group in which the child is participator but not director. His regimen is constructed by his superiors. (In high schools and colleges there are attempts at self-government, but a study of these systems of student government reveals

the fact that they have to do with certain standards of behavior which have originated in the minds of the teachers rather than of the students.) There are few opportunities in the schoolroom for conscious and individual choices. The school playground does offer such opportunities in some degree, but it is worthy of notice that when children are left to themselves on the playground, they very quickly begin forming natural groups in which they take a much more vital interest than in the entire school group. In brief, the school group is an arbitrary group. It cannot in the very nature of things be as vitally important as the play group. When the social sciences are applied in education, there will undoubtedly be attempts at creating within the school group a number of natural vital-interest groups in which the children may live freely.

Artificial standards of dress and social custom can be greatly modified by the school. This function of the school may be extended in the future. This depends upon a more direct and cooperative relationship between school and home than is now prevalent in this country.

The Church Group

To certain types of mind, the church group is a determining factor. Like the school it is

an arbitrary grouping. The child seldom makes conscious choices in regard to his church group. He attends the church school which is attached to the church of his parents. There may or may not be in his class members of his natural group. There is in the child's nature a growing sense of worship and of mysticism which the ceremony of the church may satisfy. Educationally the church has in the Sunday school a system of religious instruction based chiefly upon the Bible. All of this is important in the child's life, but our system of religious education falls short of its possibilities. Too often it runs counter to all the instincts and urges of the child's nature and his social environment!

Unless the church group is based upon a scientific knowledge of the child, his impulses and instincts, it cannot play its proper rôle in modern life. And yet, despite its weaknesses, the church group is one of the most vital and powerful associations of life.

The Work Group

In rural communities children are thrown into contact with work groups at an early age. In city communities, children often experience direct contacts with work groups during vacation periods. A search through a large number

of autobiographies and biographies reveals the fact that the work group is usually accredited with an influence comparable only to the family and to the play group, or "gang."

There is a certain psychology of behavior accompanying every vocation. The itinerant farm laborer, for instance, perpetuates a type of behavior which is peculiar to that vocation. When the farm girl, or the farm boy, is thrown into contact with the itinerant farm worker, a new phase of life is opened. This contact comes into the life of the young person with a certain force of impact, which is the stronger because accompanied by an adventurous lure. At first, the language of the work group seems quaint, and then interesting, and then imitable. Slowly, and usually quite unconsciously, the young person accumulates the habits of speech and the customs of the group with which he spends his working hours.

There will some day arise an industrial psychology which will recognize the tremendous importance of the influence of the work group. Attempts have already been made in this direction. The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations have industrial programs which are based upon the theory that the work group is the vital group in the lives of most young people. Welfare programs

in industry have their origin in the belief that the employer can elevate social and moral standards by certain forms of leisure-time activities in the spheres of health, recreation, education, etc. As industry comes more and more under the sway of the democratic theory, these programs will increase in importance. They will then, of course, arise from the work groups rather than from the employer group.

The Service Group

Human beings, at least those whom we call normal, eventually associate with like-minded individuals in some form of organization which will give expression to the altruistic impulses. The service group includes that wide category of human association which embraces secret societies, church clubs, chambers of commerce, merchants' and manufacturers' associations, Rotary Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs, and that vast array of organizations which are intended to serve the individual and society. It is probable that the word "service" does not adequately describe the type of association which is now being discussed.

In every community there are associations of people, more or less selective in character, which offer to the individual an opportunity to

use the social virtues, loyalty and "team ." So numerous have such associations become in many communities that the person who affiliates with a number of them is commonly called a "joiner." This expressive word throws light on the character of such forms of association. The joiner is a person who has an overflow of fraternal impulse. His desires for doing good are not limited by membership in one organization. In spite of the fact that organizations belonging to this classification are based upon high idealism and spiritualized ritual, it frequently happens that they are utilized for selfish purposes.

The important point for this discussion is to determine how firm is the grip which these organizations have upon their members. In some complex communities, the aggregate of such associations constitutes a super-government. Membership in them is more vital than citizenship, and great civic enterprises often depend upon the support of these organizations for their success.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Write a brief autobiography in which you describe the development of your personality in terms of the vital-interest groups to which you have belonged.

2. At what age do the children of your acquaintance seem to experience a diminishing respect for the authority of the home?
3. Describe a play group in your community.
4. Describe a school group in your community.
5. Describe a church group in your community.
6. Describe a work group in your community.
7. Describe a service group in your community.
8. Make a list of all the service groups in your community and state which of them have the greatest influence on the life of the community.

CHAPTER V

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

Economic forces usually determine the character of the community. These forces are so powerful that communities in different nations, radiating about certain economic influences, develop similar characteristics. Thus, Birmingham of England and Pittsburgh of the United States are known as "steel towns." This phrase is significant in that it indicates that these two communities have developed industrially with the increasing use of steel. The similarities in community life resulting from this correspondence in economic bases becomes apparent to the observer.

The classification of types of communities to be used in this text is:

A. Urban Communities:
   (a) Industrial.
   (b) Commercial (financial).
   (c) Political.

B. Suburban.

C. Industrial Cities or Towns.

D. Agricultural Cities or Towns.

E. Educational Towns or Villages.

F. Villages.

G. Open Country Communities.

This is a more or less arbitrary classification and does not correspond to the classifications used in the Government Census. It is based, not so much upon the size of the community as upon its chief economic background.

A. Urban Communities

The urban or city community depends upon manufacturing, distribution of commodities, finance or politics for its economic existence as well as its size. Although politics cannot be scientifically regarded as a result of economic forces, its movements tend to become more and more subject to economic influences, and it is not too much to say that political or governmental communities must in the future be interpreted economically. For the purposes of distinction it may be assumed that an urban community is one whose industrial, commercial, or political interests are so great that its relationship to the processes of agriculture is not of primary importance. Of course, no community is entirely divorced from some relationship to agriculture; even those communities whose

other interests are paramount must depend upon agriculture for their food supply.

The Latin word "urbane," from which the word "urban" is derived, implies that the residents of congested city communities live under a more refined form of civilization. This implication tends to lose its significance as the avenues of communication bring rural peoples in contact with the thought-currents of the world. There is, however, a psychological sense in which the residents of urban or city communities may be distinguished from the residents of communities who live in greater isolation. The continuous social contacts of city life make social intercourse easier; there is a city or urban manner.

(a) *Industrial Urban Communities* in the United States have a tendency to center about some particular industry or group of industries. Thus Grand Rapids has come to be a synonym for furniture manufacturing; Detroit at once suggests automobiles and related industries; Lawrence is known as a textile center. This fact has certain important sociological bearings. An industrial community in which one particular industry predominates is likely to attract people of similar traits; where such an industry utilizes foreign labor, it frequently occurs that the same racial groups make up the population.

In periods of unemployment, these so-called "one-industry" communities are likely to suffer most. In such communities, it also happens that welfare systems operated by employers appear first. From the viewpoint of community leadership, these communities present an interesting problem: the employers who control the particular industry are almost certain to control the balance of power in community movements. What transpires in such communities is almost sure to be considered in the light of its relation to the controlling industry.

What has come to be known as the Labor Movement is traceable to the mass production of these larger industrial communities. It is in these giant industries that men lose their personal relationship to their employers, where the division of labor proceeds most rapidly and where strained situations between workers and employers are most likely to exist. As a consequence of these factors, such communities develop two sets of leadership: one representing the interests of the employer class and the "middle" class, and one representing the working class. The person who exercises either professional or volunteer leadership in such a community must become cognizant of these phenomena.

(b) *Commercial Urban Communities* are

scarce. New York City approaches this type more nearly than any other American city, and yet it cannot be said that New York is purely a commercial or a distributing community. Its manufactories are vastly important; and when considered in comparison to the manufacturing industries of other communities, they present an imposing mass. However, the dominant interests of New York City, as well as other cities of this type, are the interests of the trader, the investor and the middleman. One needs only to attempt a community project in a city like New York to appreciate the fact that it demands a different type of leadership. One of the outstanding characteristics of a commercial city is its sharp division of social classes; here one finds both extremes of wealth and of poverty. The professional or middle class is apt to be of less service to the working class, and hence to community projects. Many of the attributes of other communities are absent in commercial cities. The type is, however, too scarce to demand extended treatment in a work of this kind.

(c) *Political Urban Communities* embrace county-seats, state capitals and national capitals. Occasionally, as, for example, at Lansing, Michigan, and Columbus, Ohio, a state capital develops industrial and commercial interests.

But even in these cases the political or governmental interests play a most important rôle in community affairs. The type of people who originally make up the population of a political or governmental community are not likely to induce industrial or commercial development.

The capital of a county, or the county-seat, plays an important part in the life of the American people. This is especially true in counties which have no large industrial centers. The influence of the county-seat is not merely a political one, but rather a social and a cultural one. During the War the county was looked upon as the logical unit for nearly all campaigns. This had the effect of increasing the degree of county-mindedness of our population. The reaction immediately following the War appeared to indicate a return to greater interest in local affairs. But, so long as all legal matters relating to property must be transacted at the county-seat, and so long as the political complexion of a county is determined by the county government, we may expect these political communities to wield a powerful influence over national and community movements.

State capitals bear a similar relationship to the population of their respective states, although in a less direct manner. One of the principal difficulties in dealing with political

communities is the fact that the socially important people do not consider themselves as permanent residents. They usually maintain a dual citizenship; one related to their home communities and one to the temporary political community.

Our National Capital tends to increase its influence over the country as a whole. Many national movements and organizations now maintain headquarters at Washington, not because it is a centrally located city but because of the prestige which comes from contact with officials and departments of the Federal Government. Inasmuch as there is but one national capital to consider, an analysis is not essential.

B. Suburban Communities

The suburban community is a recent type. It has in it elements of hope and elements of despair. The hopeful thing about suburbs is the fact that they lend themselves to conscious planning. The population is usually made up of families with more than average economic incomes. Social institutions such as schools and churches need not depend upon the meager taxes of the laboring man. Suburbs present available spaces for playgrounds and parks; dwellings need not be crowded, and streets may be of sufficient width.

But the truly coordinated suburban community is rare. Again, its inhabitants maintain a dual citizenship. Their chief economic, commercial, or political interests are elsewhere; the suburban home is merely a refuge from the disadvantages of the city. The population is likely to suffer from too much homogeneity. There is apt to be a surfeit of leaders and a dearth of followers. In many respects the suburban community is a social anomaly; its social organization is too frequently superficial and its one-class solidarity lacks enthusiasm. In all probability, the working people in the suburb suffer from paternalism; they have little or none of the joy of participation in the community's affairs. It is only in exceptional cases that they own property; the servant-class usually lives in the "backyard" of the suburb.

C. Industrial Cities or Towns

The type of community to be considered in this classification is becoming increasingly important. It is not the large industrial center, but the small manufacturing city or town of from 15,000 to 75,000 population, in which the major economic interests are industrial and the secondary interests are agricultural. In this type of community there exists a fine blending of population types. The original wealth, now

invested in small industries, came from agriculture. The larger proportion of the population has a rural background. But the farmer, as such, plays a diminishing rôle, and the business man, the employer, the banker, and the professional men and women are in the ascendancy.

Excepting in the South, where such communities are dominated by a single industry, such as cotton manufacturing, most of the residents own their homes. Families are medium in size; children are prized. School and church maintain a vital relationship to family life. Social intercourse is not inhibited by class distinctions, for the son of the worker is destined to be the business or professional leader of the next generation. A steady infiltration of rural blood stands guard over the encroachment of the social and physical "diseases" incident to city breeding. The enthusiasm of growth creates community pride.

Social organization in these communities has not yet produced the evils of overlapping and duplication. Opportunities for leadership abound. Frequently these opportunities are lost through the continuous use of the same individuals, or the same groups in all community projects. Cities in this category suffer most from too rapid growth. So-called "booster"

specialists in business and land enterprises create fictitious values. The border-line itinerants are attracted. Housing conditions fail to meet the needs of the increasing population. Agencies of social control cannot be generated rapidly enough to meet changed conditions of behavior. In short, the small industrial community is led to aspire to size at the expense of quality. It is not contented to be a well-organized, well-coordinated community of 50,000 people, but sets its mark at 150,000; when the extra 100,000 have arrived the community structure is already broken down and a new foundation must be laid.

D. Agricultural Cities or Towns

The type of urban community described above is one in which the industrial and commercial interests are in the ascendancy; the type to be considered here is one in which the manufacturing or commercial interests are entirely or largely dependent upon agriculture. Frequently communities in this class have no industries employing more than fifty to one hundred men. They consist of a business center radiating about one to five banks. These banks are the magnet points around which the economic life of the community revolves. Their savings accounts are made up of funds deposited by

farmers, retired farmers, merchants, professional men, and laborers in approximately the order in which these classes are here named.

The prosperity of these communities rises and falls with the farmer's fortunes; if crops are good and prices satisfactory, the small city flourishes, and if crops are poor and prices low, the small city finds itself reflecting the pessimism of the discouraged agriculturist. The economic barometer of the agricultural city or town is the ratio between agricultural production and agricultural prices. The banker, the hardware dealer, the implement salesman, the elevator owner, the live stock shipper, as well as the smaller retail establishments, depend upon the farmer for the life of their trade.

Communities of this type contain a small proportion of foreign population; at least it is usually removed one to three generations. Ambitious movements to attract great industries are attempted, but ordinarily the residents are content to continue at a normal and gradual rate of growth. Over-churching is common in these communities. The school is likely to be out of date and the teachers composed of the class who stand midway between the good rural teacher and the good city teacher. The professional leadership, strangely enough, may be of high caliber. The lawyer who has political

ambitions discovers that the small agricultural city or town is easily cultivated. The physician who desires five to ten years of general practice, under conditions of low expense, finds the small city or town an admirable field. The professional leadership is respected and honored.

In many sections of the country these small cities and towns are now facing a crisis. The growing class-constiousness of the farmers, coupled with the phenomenal increase in farmers' cooperative organizations, promise to deprive these communities of at least a portion of their economic prestige. The psychological distinctions which develop when one group of persons lives by the exploitation of another group are now being thrown into sharp relief.

The discovery is made that these small agricultural cities or towns are not organically rural. Many observers go so far as to say that this type of community is in reality a parasite upon the rural population. Slowly but apparently with inevitable relentlessness they are forced to abandon certain economic prerogatives. The cooperative creamery, the cooperative elevator, the cooperative warehouse and shipping station are forerunners of an economic system in which the farmer will control

his own economic processes. Will the small agricultural city then become the center of the rural community? It is this question which now concerns the rural sociologists.

E. Educational Towns or Villages

The "college town" is an extraordinary type of community. Its dominant interest is usually a college or university located purposely apart from urban centers. Industries and commercial enterprises are discouraged. Social organization is seldom effective. The leaders of the community are inclined to be the academic leaders of the college or university. When this is not true there is conflict between the educational institution and the residents of the community. The academic leadership is weak because it is made up of specialists, each of whom regards himself superior in his own field. The consequence of this is a reluctance to submit to leadership in other fields. During the academic season the life of the community centers about the students and faculty; the remaining period of the year is one of quiet and anticipation.

Because of their numbers, but more because of their influence upon life in general, these communities deserve attention. If good forms of community organization can be effectively promoted in such communities it will be an in-

centive to the communities into which students go after graduation.

F. Villages

The American village is economic in a secondary sense; it is primarily cultural. The small population center with 200 to 1000 inhabitants performs some very essential economic functions. In addition to its retail stores it may support a small bank which acts as a savings feeder for some larger bank in a nearby city. Occasionally it has a shipping station for the convenience of farmers.

If, however, the average American village were destroyed by fire and never again reconstructed, all of these economic functions would be performed without great inconvenience to any considerable number of people. As the avenues of communication such as good roads, telephones, automobiles, free mail delivery, etc., increase, the village will tend to become more and more a secondary economic community. The major economic functions will drift to larger urban centers.

On the other hand, the village may be the nucleus around which the future organized farmer is to build his rural community; the community in which the voice of the farmer is to be supreme.

Considered from a cultural viewpoint, the village assumes an important position in American community life. Surrounding its few clustered retail stores, its post office, and its bank, are homes of medium size set down in yards of ample proportions. The school may not provide a complete high school course but it is one of the most, if not the most, important institution in the community. The churches, one to three in number, occupy places of respect in the landscape of the village as well as in the hearts of the villagers. From the shaded homes with spacious lawns come children who lead normal, unhurried lives. And it is the child who is the dynamic center of the life of the village. The families are usually large by comparison with city families. The children still perform home duties, which make family obligation habitual. In the home are books revealing an ancestry of classic tendencies; an ancestry which occupied the center of the stage of American social life before cities and factories came to dominate our destiny. And from the quiet of these villages comes a steady flow of character and personality which goes far toward the formation of American opinion and ideals. Leadership invested in the small but natural groups of girls and boys in these villages will multiply itself an hundred-fold. This leadership must work with

tools that are few in number and rough in refinement, but if it has the genius to make the highest use of the resources of the village, it will find in its hands material out of which greatness proceeds.

G. Open Country Communities

In a strictly scientific sense it is doubtful if there are any open country population groups which can be called true communities. If one holds to that definition of a community which requires that a community must be capable of satisfying the major economic wants of its population, it is certain that there are few true communities in the open country. The pioneer rural community was, of course, self-dependent, but it is now a unit of the past. Few modern open country communities are capable of meeting all of the economic, social, and civic demands of their inhabitants. However, there are open country population clusters which must be considered as communities from the viewpoint of leadership. These may be termed neighborhoods in the scientific sense, but in the cultural sense they must be regarded as communities.

The open country community may center about the school, the church, or a general store. Frequently all three of these institutions form

the center. In Northern and Western states the store or some economic institution is invariably a part of the equation. In Southern communities it is invariably absent. The sociable life which concentrates at the rural school or the rural church is a "thing apart." It has characteristics and attributes which are not found in any of the communities described in the foregoing part of this chapter. This group is made up of families, and the families constitute groups in which all members participate in the business of agriculture. The traits which make the rural group distinctive are not merely occupational in character; agriculture is more than a vocation. It is a mode of life.

Approximately one-third of the total population of the United States resides in open country communities. In consequence the kind of community life which is here created is destined to play an important rôle in national affairs. The processes of the rural community are slow. Leadership is scarce, or rather, reluctant. Opportunities for sociable contact are fewer in number than in urban communities. Urban communities may place great faith in the "miracle" of "getting together." The rural mind is likely to be suspicious of mere social contact. The least intellectual or the least cul-

tural element in the community is disposed to give color to the life of the community group.

The most significant factors in regard to modern open country communities are: the increasing number of graduates of colleges who pursue agriculture, and the increase in organization among farmers. In combination, these factors have already produced noteworthy results. The rural education movement is now proceeding from within. The consolidation of schools and churches is rapidly becoming a problem of local expediency. The boundaries of the open country community are extending. In one state it is now legally possible for an open country community to incorporate, elect officers and collect taxes. The long-neglected social factors of country life are receiving national attention. The next fifty years will probably witness intense activity and progress in regard to the open country community.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMUNITY MOVEMENT AND DEMOCRACY

The Community Movement represents an attempt on the part of the people who live in a small, compact, local group to assume their own responsibilities and to guide their own destinies. It is a reaction against centralized control. In its organized form it is a demonstration of Democracy in action. The Community Movement cannot be adequately interpreted without a consideration of the theory of Democracy.

The problem of Democracy is a problem of authority. In whom shall authority exist? In the individual or in the group? In the small local unit (community) or in the state? History presents a series of successive waves in which authority is a shifting element. A brief survey of the rising and falling tides of Democracy is essential to an understanding of the period in which we now live.[1]

[1] The sequence of this survey follows closely that used by Dr. Lynn Harold Hough in a well-known address in London during the World War.

Early Statements of Democratic Theory

The prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, promoted an anti-democratic theory six hundred years before Christ. They saw the evils of an undisciplined group egotism, and in combating this they attempted to direct attention to the individual's responsibilities. In the phrase, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die," Ezekiel gave theological weight to his individualistic concept. But in the same sentence there is an allusion to social unity: "Behold, all souls are mine" gives a basis for believing that this early and bold prophet recognized the conflict between the individual and the group.

Almost a century later, Protagoras stated the individualistic concept in philosophical terms. He, too, sought a guide whereby philosophical tenets might be given practical application, and in his struggles he arrived at the conclusion that "the individual man is the measure of all things."

Socrates assumed a position in sharp contrast to philosophical individualism. Although he played an individual rôle himself, he pointed to the group as the source of standards. To him the individual became important in relation to the group or to people in general. Plato de-

veloped this concept in his theory of the state. According to this theory the individual must always be subordinated to the group, which he personified in terms of the governmental unit known as the state or the nation.

The Middle Ages witnessed two distinct movements which revealed the existence of democratic and anti-democratic tendencies. *Realism* emphasized the group significance. This movement regarded the two institutions of the state and the church as being the only realities in social organization. Apart from these two institutions the individual could have no real meaning. *Nominalism*, as a movement, was a protest against Realism and once more asserted the supremacy of the individual.

In the Sixteenth Century Martin Luther made a bold assertion of individual rights. His defiance of the church and the state as institutions of authority was dramatic and partially successful. Man's inherent need for authority, and his failure to conceive all of the implications of the Reformation, caused the loss of some of its most distinctive values. The English individualist movement of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, with Locke and Kidd as spokesmen, was a continuation of the forces liberated by the Reformation.

Modern Statements of Democracy

The French Revolution was an attempt to establish a working relationship between individual liberty and fraternity. Its watchwords, "liberty, equality, and fraternity," stated in graphic form the old issue between the individual and the group. Viewed in the light of the evolution of the idea of Democracy, the French Revolution appears as an heroic effort to state the problem definitely and to erect a political structure upon the principle. But this age-old question was not to be settled so simply. The United States began its political history as an independent nation with another restatement of the problem. The Declaration of Independence is a document of individualist rights. It reaffirms the old shibboleths of the French philosophers who heralded the Revolution. In stentorian tones it courageously says to the world that "all men are created equal" and from this dictum derives the theory of government which is based upon the consent of the governed.

Then came the Constitution, which was a compromise between individual and group rights. In the Constitution the individual is endowed with certain sacred rights which the state must refrain from molesting. The rights

of free speech, free press, and free assemblage are even placed without the sphere of the Federal Congress. But the greater portion of this great document is concerned with a statement of the relationships which are to exist between the free individual and the strong state. The Constitution did not solve the problem. The two major political parties of this country have risen and fallen with platforms emphasizing either the rights of the individual or of the state. Two great political leaders rose to eminence on the basis of this struggle; Thomas Jefferson was the logical and the philosophical champion of individual rights (expressed in the form of State's Rights, which under the American form of government indicates a smaller governmental unit than the Nation or State, as it is generally known) ; while Alexander Hamilton was the spokesman of centralized authority resting with the Federal Government.

In 1861 the struggle came to a tragic issue. There existed at that time large numbers of people who were not regarded as being equally born or equally endowed with others. These people were deprived of some of the fundamental individual rights; they were, in fact, held to be the property of others. To continue the extension of this latter class, and of the institution of slavery which was its necessary adjunct,

would be to deny the organic law of the land. Either the Declaration of Independence and the first portions of the Constitution must be disregarded and held to be null and void, or the question of slavery and individual rights must be decided. This was a question too deeply entrenched in economic and social institutions to be settled without engendering feelings of enmity. Unfortunately, the issue was permitted to drift to the point of warfare. Because of the fortune of economic preponderance, the proponents of centralized control won the war, and a strong central government became inevitable. Viewed in the light of nationalistic developments in Europe and the Orient, this was undoubtedly a fortunate trend of affairs. But the essential problem of Democracy was not solved by means of the Civil War, as will be seen in the study of modern tendencies which we shall embrace within the scope of the community movement.

The German Empire was destined to give the anti-democratic theory its most forceful demonstration. In the growth of this nation the individual was thoroughly subordinated. The state became the absolute authority, and this ultimately meant despotism. In fairness to some of the German leaders who were responsible for this development it must be admitted that

the last forty years of the German Empire were years of benevolent despotism. Under this régime the individual's wants were readily met, but they were met by the Government. The tendency was inevitably toward a highly efficient form of state socialism. Coupled with a military caste this combination contained within it the seeds of its own destruction.

Proudhon, the philosopher of anarchy, took a position in direct opposition to the tendencies of European governments. He insisted upon a state of society in which every individual was to have the right to do as he pleased. To him all government was obnoxious.

Thus it becomes evident that an extreme individualist theory carried to its logical conclusion ends in anarchy, and an extreme group theory ends in despotism.

The World War, of 1914-1918, began as a nationalistic scramble for economic control. Through the interpretations of the aims of the War, made by such leaders and agencies as Woodrow Wilson and the British Labor Party, it evolved into a struggle centering about the theory of Democracy. The rights of individuals and the rights of smaller states to determine their own status and destiny became the chief issues of the War. Added to this was the determination on the part of the working peo-

ple who, in the end, must bear the burdens of warfare, to end all war as a means of settling nationalistic disputes. And, once more we face disillusionment; the essential problem of Democracy is not yet solved. Perhaps we shall some time learn that it will never be solved by means of warfare, and that its only hope of solution lies in practical demonstrations carried out in small communities.

Modern Manifestation of the Community Movement

In order to gain perspective in regard to the far-reaching implications of the Community Movement, this survey includes a wider range of tendencies than is ordinarily included in such a category. All movements which aim to restore control and authority to smaller groups, having vital relationships within themselves, are included as a part of the Community Movement.

Home-rule Legislation increases in quantity on the statute books of all of the states in the United States. This is an indication that certain cities (communities) desire certain special privileges, or controls, which are now in the hands of the state. Very frequently such communities desire the privilege of taxing them-

selves for certain improvements; they discover that state legislation sets a limit to their indebtedness, and chafing under such restrictions, make an effective appeal for home-rule legislation. To the student of municipal government this phenomenon presents one of the most interesting developments of the past decade.

Public Ownership of Public Utilities may, or may not, be the most efficient method of providing public service, but the tendency to take the control of public utilities away from private corporations is unmistakable. The operation of electricity, gas, and water supply began as private enterprises; a service or a commodity was sold to the people of a community. The wide character of these services coupled with the unjust use of public franchises made them of deep-seated political importance. Many communities have been split asunder by the so-called "water," or "gas," or "power" "crowds" in political control. Public ownership may have its attendant evils, but they are the evils of democratic control and will be borne with less complaint.

The Consumers' Cooperative Movement is another manifestation of the desire of a community to be released from certain extraneous forces of control. There is a widespread belief that the necessities of life continue to in-

crease in cost to the consumer due to non-essential processes of distribution. Most of these processes lie outside the intimate community and come to be personified as evils in the persons of middlemen. The community determines to eliminate some of these middlemen and becomes its own secondary distributor. This movement has already reached such proportions in Great Britain that it embraces 1400 cooperative societies, with a membership of three and one-half million people.

Producers' cooperatives have a strong foothold in Europe and are now beginning to secure important controls in the United States. If the present plans of the American Farm Bureau Federation materialize, we shall soon witness the phenomenon of having the entire grain crop of the country sold on a cooperative basis.

The Farm Bureau is a new form of social organization in the United States, the implications of which are not fully realized. The American farmer is a "much-tutored" person. The Federal Government maintains a gigantic department which serves his needs. Each state provides agricultural instruction of some sort in colleges, high schools, and through extension teaching as well. Many private agencies, such as banks, consider the education of the farmer one of their functions. During the develop-

ment of this extensive system of bringing information to the farmer, he was himself quite inarticulate. The farm bureau is the farmer's voice raised to a pitch intended to make his tutors know that he expects to guide his own destiny in the future.

The Settlement House movement is a neighborhood rather than a community project. Its objective is to furnish a common meeting place for the more or less homogeneous residents of a district or neighborhood in a city. At this center are provided the facilities for expression in the form of recreation, dramatics, and discussions. Educational advantages, such as are not usually found in the public schools, are here provided for the educationally disadvantaged. From the sociological viewpoint the settlement house is an institution whose primary function is to conserve the neighborhood ties of families and groups. It places certain non-political elements of community life directly within the control of the people of the neighborhood.

The Community Center movement as it has developed in the United States has two distinct aspects. Its chief proponents have been those who are interested in making better use of the equipment and the personnel of the public schools. To this end they desire to have each public school serve as the social center for the

educational, recreational, sociable, and discussional life of the people in the neighborhood of the school building. Another element is concerned with making the church the community center, and there are others who insist upon the erection of separate community buildings to be used for this purpose. It is estimated that there are approximately five thousand community centers in the United States. New York City alone utilizes nearly three hundred public schools as social centers.

The Forum movement is closely related to the community center movement but deserves special attention. In the forum movement we see an attempt to restore to the people of a community the fine art of arriving at conclusions by means of free discussion. In the rapid development of avenues of communication such as daily newspapers, discussion has languished; opinions are created by these powerful organs of influence. The forum movement is a clear indication that people have an inherent desire to reach their own conclusions.

Community Councils, which were in reality neighborhood councils, were organized in a number of cities during the War. These were in the nature of non-governmental agencies devised to hasten community action on important campaigns related to the prosecution of the

War, and hence constituted an admission of the effectiveness of the smaller local unit in a crisis. Following the War, the City of New York continued this form of organization in modified form and with a peace-time program. The separate community councils were related to the entire city by means of a city parliament, in which important city-wide projects were discussed. The various councils functioned through committees appointed on the project basis. Community secretaries were employed to handle the administrative affairs of the councils; specialists in recreation, health, etc., were also employed to serve all of the councils within the city.

The Social Unit plan of organizing a community by neighborhoods, as demonstrated in Cincinnati, constitutes one of the most thoroughly thought-out schemes of community organization which has yet been attempted. The plan involved organization by city blocks within a neighborhood; each block was provided with a leader chosen from the resident group. Programs were initiated by an occupational group made up of representatives of all institutions and agencies functioning in the neighborhood. Thus members of the chamber of commerce, of the labor unions, of the churches, the teachers, the nurses, the doctors,

etc., were all represented on the committee which initiated programs. Such programs could not, however, be promoted without acceptance by the democratically organized community or neighborhood group. The plan involves the full utilization of specialists under the control of the organized neighborhood.

The Community Church movement is an attempt to socialize the work of the church in such manner as to include within its scope of activities certain social services. In its purest form it represents an anti-denominational force, as a result of which the absolute control of the church shall rest with the community and not with denominational boards or bishops. In its more modified form, by which we know it best in the United States, it is merely an attempt to do certain things through the church as a medium. Thus churches simply render services to the community in the way of recreation, education, social service, etc., without changing the fundamental character of the church organization. In rural communities this movement is best represented by federated churches, in which two or more churches combine for a wider program, or union churches in which more than one denomination exists on a co-operative basis.

In addition to these specific movements there are other manifestations of the community urge. Some of these are to be found in the changing programs of institutions and agencies. The Young Men's Christian Association has a community program which is distinguished from its institutional or building program. This is also true of the Young Women's Christian Association. The American Red Cross emerged from the War with a peace-time program which embraced the entire community in relation to certain vital interests of life. War Camp Community service became Community Service, incorporated soon after the World War ended, and under this new name promotes a recreation, or leisure-time program, for all elements of the community's population. The word "community" has been appropriated by numerous agencies and institutions which heretofore promoted programs for special groups.

The above manifestations of the attempts of community groups to gain control of their activities are, perhaps, sufficient to indicate that there is a real community movement in the United States. This tendency is not, however, confined to this country; the movement appears to be well-nigh universal. In Great Britain there are *Whiteley Councils* which aim to place certain controls within the hands of the workers

in certain industries, and there is the *Shop Stewards* movement with similar objectives. The *Garden-Cities* of England, which are likely to develop in this country under the name of *Farm-Cities,* constitute another manifestation of community control. The *New Town* proposals of the Society of Friends goes still further in this direction. In Yucatan, Mexico, there is a form of local government which goes by the name of the *Councils of Resistance,* which are in effect community organizations with governmental powers. The *Soviets* of Russia are occupational councils devised to control the political, economic, and social affairs of the local community. Instead of selecting political representatives from geographic units they select them from occupational units. All of this increased evidence merely strengthens the assumption that we are now passing through a stage in which democratic theory is to be tested on the community basis.

A brief survey of the history of the democratic movement, viewed in the light of the community, convinces the student that there is no lack of theory. Schemes and plans there are in abundance. What, then, is the reason for so much trial-and-error, so much hope-and-despair, which makes man's pathway toward Democracy so uncertain? As in the case of all

social problems, there is no *one* reason, but there are many reasons. There is space here for the consideration of only a few of the major impediments of Democracy.

In the first place, Democracy, as expressed in the Community Movement, is inimical to certain vested interests. The power which comes through authority is a jealous power. Those who secure it hold it fast.

In the second place, there has been too little education in regard to the theory of Democracy. Many still think of it as merely a highly idealistic form of government which is unattainable under modern complex conditions of society.

In the third place, there is an ever present tendency among idealists and realists to go to extremes. They look upon progress as being absolute when all the facts indicate that the best that can be hoped for in human affairs is tentative progress.

The most formidable foe of Democracy, however, is the confidence which people place in schemes and plans and forms of organization. What the social machinery of our day needs is spiritual force to provide motive power. The modern Community Movement will fail to give Democracy its practical expression if it is not motivated by a spiritual dynamic. Such a dynamic force was unloosed with the message and

the life of Jesus of Nazareth. He lived His life on the basis of certain basic democratic assumptions, and He scientifically demonstrated those assumptions. In His eyes all individuals were of value; through the social implications of His message sin became democratic and the burden of all; in His aspirations all humankind were included. He assumed that Love would solve more problems than Hatred. He even assumed that to have a human enemy was a social anomaly. And He believed that religion was essentially a system of behavior by which the individual need not be swallowed up in the group, but by which the individual must find his ultimate satisfactions in spiritualizing the group.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. The Protestant Reformation substituted the Bible for the former authority of the Church. Why did this substitution of authority lead to the multiplication of sects within the Protestant Church?
2. Describe some community project with which you are familiar, and in which certain vested interests (of property, wealth, political power, etc.) defeated what was for the best interests of the group.
3. In what relationships or ways is the saying, "all men are born equal," not true?

4. Which was the more important issue in the Civil War, slavery or secession?
5. Anarchy implies that man would be happier without government. Why does this theory seem impractical to you?
6. List three pieces of home-rule legislation, giving specific provisions of each.
7. If water supply is a public utility which is justified by public ownership, why is not clothing supply a similar utility?
8. Why have organizations among merchants, financiers, and laboring men preceded organization among farmers?
9. If there are several churches in a community can any one of them become the community's social center? Why?
10. Are free speech, free assembly, and free press essential to Democracy? Why?
11. What could the public schools do toward training citizens for democratic living?
12. Should the Church have a community message? Why?

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY NEEDS AND AGENCIES

A community is a form of social organization which meets certain human needs. The various aspects of the Community Movement are, in fact, expressions of modes and means of meeting these needs. The human needs which are regarded as having universal bearing in the lives of all people everywhere are:

Physical needs expressed in *health.*
Material needs expressed in *wealth.*
Social needs expressed in *sociability.*
Intellectual needs expressed in *knowledge.*
Aesthetic needs expressed in *beauty.*
Ethical needs expressed in *righteousness.*

It will be observed that all people do not express all these needs; nor do all people express them in the same degree. However, some portions of all these needs must be met if a social organization is to be progressive.

From the viewpoint of the theme of this book it will be serviceable to consider human needs in the light of their resultant institutions.

It is characteristic of a progressive society to increase institutions; needs which are sufficiently universal sooner or later find expression in some form of organization. Such organizations, based upon fundamental human needs, become institutionalized and formalized so that in time they are looked upon as an integral part of the customs or *mores* of the group. A simple need, such as the need for food, may result in the necessity of providing defense for the food supply. This defense, in turn, creates the necessity for inventing arms and ammunition. The organization of armies of defense and the resulting institution of militarism follows. The primary needs of food, shelter, and clothing are the starting points of numerous forms of social and economic organization, all of which have resulted in institutions of a more or less permanent character. When people live in organized groups, such as communities, their individual needs are supplemented by group needs. The combination produces a wider classification of needs and institutions than that suggested at the beginning of this chapter. Individuals living in communities can no longer be considered merely as individuals; their needs become social or group needs and must be met in common. This implies organization of some sort.

The following classification of community

needs, and the consequent organized means of meeting such needs, is not intended to represent the chronological sequence of the existence of needs; nor does the order indicate relative importance of the various needs.

CLASSIFICATION OF COMMUNITY NEEDS

Need	*Institution*
1. *Orderliness,* or authoritative rules regarding property and personal rights and privileges.	Government, courts, police.
2. *Economic well-being,* or the means of utilizing raw products for food, clothing, and shelter.	Agriculture or productive industry.
3. *Physical well-being,* or health of body.	Physicians, hospitals, public health organizations, nurses.
4. *Intellectual diffusion,* or the means of disseminating information and knowledge.	Public schools, newspapers, forum.
5. *Associative ties,* or opportunities for sociable intercourse with like-minded persons.	Societies, clubs, voluntary organizations.

Need	*Institution*
6. *Ethical control,* or standards of behavior accepted by the group but not legally controlled.	Moral customs, *mores,* observances.
7. *Recreative expression,* or leisure-time activities to supplement the ordinary régime of life.	Theatres, playgrounds, art, dance halls.
8. *Spiritual motivation,* or expression of reliance upon the supernatural.	Churches
9. *Philanthropy,* or social means for assisting the disadvantaged members of the group (social work).	Charity organizations, hospitals, institutions for defective, delinquent and dependent persons.
10. *Group articulation,* or means by which the various interest groups and the total population may be related.	Community organization.

This classification of community needs does not explain all the institutions existing in modern communities. A labor union, for ex-

ample, is an outgrowth of economic processes but it has also its definite relationship to "associative ties." It serves its members economically but it also serves them socially. In like manner, a theatre should be a place where the innate impulses of dramatic expression become re-creative; in its modern form its major objective is to earn profits on invested capital. Community needs[1] may be classified in numerous other ways, all of which may throw light upon the student's understanding of the community process. Thus, we may think of human needs as being *primary* and *secondary*. Primary needs (in reality "wants") would consist of those things which are requisite to life, such as food, shelter, and clothing. The secondary needs would include all of those accumulated needs which lead to a higher form of life. All animals have primary needs in this sense. The human animal creates the secondary needs in proportion to his elevation above the purely animal plane. The primary needs may be considered as belonging to the individual and the secondary needs to the group.

[1]The word "need" is here used to express "lack of." The economist's term "want" denotes more specifically a physiological fact. The psychologist's term "desire" is more definitely related to the mental objective of a want or need. In thinking of a community as a progressive society, the word "need" seems to express more adequately those increasing and cumulative services which come into existence to meet higher wants.

Community Institutions Based upon Community Needs

The force which holds a community together, above all other forces, is work or economic production. In our study of types of communities we discovered that those communities which were based primarily upon politics, or the mere conveniences of living, (political and suburban communities), presented characteristics which are not found in the ordinary community. It is these non-economic characteristics which give these communities their peculiar constitution and make them anomalous.

Agriculture, manufacturing, and mining are the three elemental and fundamental economic processes which lay the foundation for community life and from which rise the various forms of social organization. Each of these modes of production has brought into existence a régime of life which constitutes institutionalism.

Agriculture as an institution (farming) has produced a discipline, a distinct population group, and distinct forms of social organization. There are those who look upon agriculture as a mere classification of vocations, but it is more than that; it is a mode of living which is dis-

tinguished from the urban or city mode of living in these particulars:

The farm family is related to the productive enterprise as a unit.

The social contacts of the farmer are fewer and of lesser variety.

The farmer's contact with the soil and with natural forces produces a type of mind, differing in its outlooks from that of the city dweller.

The social institutions which occur indigenously in farming communities are less numerous and less complex.

The family life of farmers is on a more intimate basis and is more cohesive.

The farmer is both capitalist and laborer; he owns his tools and sells his finished products.

Industrial discipline has so completely absorbed the enterprise of mining that these two forms, or economic institutions, may be considered together. Modern industry has created a discipline in many respects as distinct as that accompanying military organization. Work begins at a given time and ends at a given time. The employer furnishes the raw materials and the tools and the supervision; the worker performs tasks which are conditioned by his employer and his machines. Three distinct social classes have emerged from this régime: the capitalist or investor, the technician and the manager, the worker. Frequently the first two

classes overlap, but they combine only to reveal a greater contrast between those who own and direct and those who labor with their hands. The natural outgrowth of such a discipline is the organization of the workers for the purpose of collective bargaining. Organization of laborers constitutes the most remarkable and fascinating development in modern social organization.

Governmental Institutions

Economic exploitation of natural resources leads quickly to ownership of property. Such ownership implies rights and privileges which must have some sanction in order to receive respect. The institutions of government give such sanction. In the later stages of a society the forces of ownership and non-ownership of property become more or less equalized. This leads to the introduction of other factors in government. It no longer suffices to have governmental agencies concern themselves entirely with property; human life makes certain demands for rights and privileges which must also have sanction. Government then becomes the institution through which the rights of property and the rights of life become established.

It is not the purpose of this book to discuss

the foregoing phases of modern institutionalism in detail. They belong rather to the spheres of economic and political science. The community leader's opportunity and task, in our time, lies in the direction of the extra or non-governmental forms of organization.

The most pertinent fact in regard to modern tendencies in government is the transition from legalism, as the compelling factor, to the consideration of economic and social forces as the compelling factor. The newer sciences of sociology and economics are destined to play an important rôle in the future development of governmental affairs. Jurisprudence, constitutional interpretation, and political parties will decrease in importance as the newer social sciences are applied to this problem. All of which means that the extra-governmental agencies, which are now the initiators of most social movements, will either go out of existence, or will assume much more important positions in our community life than they do at present. The latter development appears to be the logical expectation in view of the present reaction against state socialism, or the control of economic and social affairs by the state to the exclusion of private agencies.

The managerial form of city government is, perhaps, the best indication of the present ten-

dency to regard government as a technique which deals with engineering, rather than with political problems. The institutions of a modern city which are trusted with the supply of water, the protection from fire, the building of roadways suitable for motor traffic, the protection from contagious and infectious diseases, and with the numerous functions related to life and living, must be institutions founded upon scientific wisdom and administered by engineering minds.

The governmental institutions of a modern community include:

(1) Police department for the protection of property and life.

(2) Public utilities furnishing water, lighting, heat, gas, and transportation.

(3) Public health organization for the prevention of diseases, for sanitary regulations, disposal of wastes and the care of persons in ill-health.

(4) Courts for the adjustment of difficulties of a legal nature.

(5) Public relief agencies and institutions for the care of dependent, defective, and delinquent members of the community group.

(6) Public schools for the dissemination of general and vocational education.

(7) Public libraries providing books and current literature to the citizens of the community.

(8) Public markets for the economical method of distributing perishable food products.

(9) Public parks, playgrounds and recreation centers for rest, supervised and directed play, and athletics.

This list does not, of course, complete the governmental institutions of the modern community. The City of New York, for example, employs ninety thousand persons in its numerous departments of governmental activity.

Quasi-Governmental Institutions

Private institutions have a tendency to become officialized. The playground movement in the United States is an example of private initiative transferred ultimately to public control. Many libraries and art institutes and museums as well as parks were originally in the control of private individuals or groups. In the transition from private to public control there often occur cases where there is a curious mixture of administration; the official agency provides the funds through taxation but private organizations still exercise administrative control. The technique for the promotion of such quasi-

governmental institutions and agencies is lacking in scientific background. Most of these cases are in large measure accidental. It is probable that the future will witness a tendency toward the development of a definite technique for the administration of quasi-governmental institutions and agencies. The officialization of an institution or movement is almost certain to subtract from that movement some vital elements. The spirit of volunteer service, the ascendency of personal leadership, and the enthusiasm of group achievement in spite of handicaps,—these are all values which are so frequently lost in a governmental institution. If values of this sort could be conserved by retaining certain controls within the private group, and by turning over others to the government, there would result a great social gain.

Extra-Governmental or Voluntary Agencies

The United States is the seed-bed of voluntary agencies. A new human need is no sooner discovered than there ensues an organized form of meeting the need. Organization constitutes a large part of the genius of the American people. There is something splendidly democratic about this readiness and eagerness for organization. Governmental agencies are slow to act; they are encumbered with legalities and

formalities. The small private group can do things quickly; it need not wait for primaries and elections. It is a spontaneous and enthusiastic response to a human need, which provides many of the satisfactions of individual service.

Types of Voluntary Agencies[1]

The most prominent types of voluntary agencies in the United States are:

1. Charity organizations.
2. Recreation organizations.
3. Sociable organizations.
4. Commercial organizations.
5. Religious organizations.
6. Reform organizations.
7. Cooperative organizations.
8. Educational organizations.

The origins, development, and processes of most of these types of agencies are much the same. All of these elements cannot be discussed within the limits of this work. The most valuable results will come to the student as he

[1] It will be noted that the terms "institution," "agency" and "organization" are used more or less interchangeably in this chapter. This has come to be common practice although it should be remembered that there are certain technical distinctions which should be observed. An organization becomes an agency when it has a program which extends beyond its membership. An agency becomes an institution when it is accepted in the customs of the group as having a permanent place and function.

studies these types of organizations in a local community.

Charity organizations include all agencies and institutions which administer voluntary relief to the poor, the diseased, the distressed, the deformed, the defective, or in short the unadjusted or maladjusted members of the community. The word "philanthropy" is still used in connection with this type of organization, but there is an increasing tendency to discontinue its use. The word "charity" is also losing its significance and the organizations belonging to this type are now grouped under the term "social work." In some sections of the country where charity work is being officialized, the term "public welfare" is supplanting all of the older words. It is, of course, apparent that the term public welfare does not adequately describe the private agencies and will probably not be used in this connection.

Organized social work for administering relief to the unadjusted members of the community has produced a technique of dispensation as well as of training or education. Its leadership is a trained leadership and its processes are standardized. Moreover, its development has produced a high degree of specialization. The following list of the various differentiated fields of social work is an

indication of the far-reaching influence of this one type of voluntary organization:

1. Family social work.
2. Child welfare.
3. Delinquency.
4. Housing.
5. Public health.
6. Industry.
7. Leisure time.
8. Immigration.
9. Settlements.
10. Civic work.
11. Community organization.
12. Social work in schools.

It will be observed that some portions of these fields of social work have already become officialized and that many of them are semi-official in nature. As the science of social work increases there is a tendency to subdivide the various fields. Nearly all social workers have some contact with governmental agencies, and the influence of voluntary agencies over official agencies has been extensive.

The above classification of fields of work includes recreation, industry, and several other activities which are not ordinarily considered as

belonging to the type of organization now under discussion. "Social work" is rapidly becoming a phrase which includes all phases of social improvement or amelioration. Charity organizations, recreation organizations, reform organizations, and educational organizations conform largely to the same type.

Sociable organizations are in the nature of clubs, societies, and fraternities which begin their existence in the interest of serving the sociable needs of a like-minded group. In nearly all cases, such organizations develop a more extended program; they frequently become agencies for performing some special piece of social service. Women's clubs, farmers' clubs, dramatic clubs, book clubs, boys' and girls' clubs, secret societies, fraternities and kindred organizations have their original impulses in the desire for sociability. There are, of course, mixed motives and it is not at all unusual to find an organization with a more serious purpose develop later into a sociable institution. The rule, however, is the opposite, excepting in those cases where a natural growth in the community causes a division of labor and the bringing into existence of new agencies.

The interesting feature about sociable organizations as developed up to the present is their specialized membership. They seldom attempt

democracy in organization. New members must be voted in on the basis of some common standard of success, achievement, sex, occupation, or social status. In recent years there have been attempts at democratic neighborhood and community organizations on a sociable basis, but there is as yet no sufficient experience upon which to base conclusions regarding the permanency of such organizations.

Commercial and cooperative organizations are based upon the theory of collective effectiveness in the sphere of economics. The old Board of Trade was a purely economic organization whose purpose was to enhance the pecuniary success of its members. The modern Chamber of Commerce, which grew out of its prototype the Board of Trade, is developing along other than purely economic lines. It has committees or bureaus which deal with civic and social problems, and frequently it is the nucleus for purely social agencies. The direct and most important activities of the Chambers of Commerce are still, however, economic or commercial.

Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs cannot be classified definitely as commercial organizations. They are in reality organized expressions of the service ideal in business and professional life. Their predominant membership is drawn

from the classes which deal in commerce and trade, and they gradually develop interests and activities which represent the psychology of the commercial classes. Merchants' associations, councils or associations of persons engaged in promoting the same trade (building trades, etc.), and similar organizations should all be considered as voluntary commercial organizations.

Cooperative organizations have always been tinged with motives which are above mere economic gain. The social and spiritual values of cooperative organizations have been much emphasized in literature, but unfortunately they have been sorely lacking in practice. There are indications that the future appeals and the future practices will contain other than economic factors. The educational and social features of British, Irish, Danish and Russian cooperatives give promise of far greater future emphasis on the social and spiritual basis of economic cooperative ventures.

Religious organizations are of two types: those which are denominational or sectarian in composition, and those which are inter-denominational. Such organizations came into existence as a result of certain unfilled needs among special groupings. Step by step the churches have turned over certain functions to private

and public agencies. But the churches were not contented to withdraw all of their influences, and distinctly religious organizations and agencies are the result.

The two most prominent inter-denominational agencies in the United States are the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. While these institutions do not cut across all denominational or sectarian lines, they include in their membership adherents of the Christian faith of nearly all of the Protestant churches. They have developed a specialized technique and professionalized leadership. A thorough system of collegiate training, fitting students for Association professions, is supplemented by numerous summer training schools and institutes. Their objectives are to meet the special religious, recreational, educational and sociable needs of girls and women and of boys and men. They represent the churches at work in meeting community needs, but unlike other voluntary agencies their programs are all motivated by distinctly religious impulses. The recent developments in both Associations point to an evolution in program policy which will greatly increase their services to ever-widening groups.

The programs of the two great inter-denominational agencies have already reached the

stage of differentiation of function. Thus there are secretaries who deal with boys alone; secretaries who deal with younger girls; secretaries who deal with industrial workers; secretaries who deal with boys and girls of town and country; secretaries who deal with continuation education; secretaries who deal with the foreign-born; secretaries who deal with college students.

The Jewish Young Men's Associations and the Knights of Columbus are to the Jewish people and to the members of the Catholic churches what the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations are to the Protestant churches.

All of these agencies tend to become true institutions functioning on a permanent basis in community life.

* * * * *

The local chapters of the American Red Cross, and the Parent-Teacher Associations, Community Chautauquas, local Community Service organizations, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, missionary societies, granges, farm bureaus, and numerous other agencies and organizations now exist in many American communities. They have all arisen to meet some definite community

need. The various aspects of the problems raised by these voluntary agencies will be considered in the next chapter.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Classify the various age-groups in your community; opposite each group state the various needs of that group according to the classification used on the first page of this chapter.
2. Check off all needs that are now being met by some agency; name the agency.
3. Make a list of all unfilled needs, and suggest the agencies which are suited to meet these needs.
4. Make a list of all of your primary needs and all of your secondary needs.
5. Why do the needs of industrial populations increase more rapidly than the needs of agricultural populations?
6. Why do many voluntary agencies seek to have governmental agencies take over their programs?
7. Should municipal officers be elected or appointed? Why?
8. Construct list of all voluntary agencies in:
   (a) City community.
   (b) A village.
   (c) An open country community.

(d) A state.
(e) The United States.

9. Why are sociable organizations more variable in different communities than commercial or social work organizations?
10. Is the economic motive sufficient to make a cooperative organization permanently successful?
11. Is it possible to have religious service agencies without denominational relationships?
12. Study the history of one of the older voluntary agencies.

CHAPTER VIII

INSTITUTIONALISM AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR

A modern community which sustains numerous agencies and organizations promoting social welfare must sooner or later answer these questions:

A. Which is more important, the individual's loyalty to an institution, or his loyalty to his community?

B. How many service agencies can a given population support?

C. How can the service agencies be utilized to the best advantage of the community, without duplication of effort?

D. How can the community safeguard itself from depleting its leadership through the use of the same groups in all agencies?

Answers to some of these questions were hinted at in Chapters III and IV. They must be faced once more in the consideration of social agencies and movements. It has already been pointed out that organizations become

agencies with definite programs, and that agencies, in their turn, become fixed institutions in the life of the community. This process of evolution has been characteristic of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

The rapid rise of industrial organization during this period has undoubtedly assisted in the process of institutionalizing movements and organizations. An industrial community is a more fluid structure than an agricultural or handicraft community. The fact of the fluidity of the industrial community does not imply that there are more social problems, but rather that social problems are more intensified. It implies further that there is a correspondingly greater group in need of social services, and a correspondingly smaller group of paternalistic leaders.

The country community in the United States had produced a small number of institutions prior to the rise of industry. The church, the school, the home, the country store, the grange and the press were its chief forms of institutionalism. These institutions were sufficient to meet the needs of farmers prior to the time when the farmers' products became world commodities and he became a world buyer. From that time onward the farmer's life increased in complexity, and the social service agencies are

now entering the rural field in response to actual needs.

The great bulk of the institutions rendering social services in the United States have come into being in the last half century. Their origin and rapid multiplication cannot be fully explained without consideration of at least two other factors. The science of sociology undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence over the development of social service agencies. Sociology placed emphasis upon the social maladjustments of a rapidly expanding population; it gave publicity to the phenomena which are now called social problems. In a more or less contemporaneous sense the Protestant churches of America acted as a similar factor. Christianity took on a new emphasis; it was called the "social gospel." (This phrase implied that the Christian religion had a worldly mission, that the Kingdom of God was being interpreted as an ideal to be achieved on earth.) Members of Christian churches assumed a new attitude toward "practical Christianity," or as it is sometimes called "applied Christianity." A sort of religious fervor suddenly permeated social affairs, and poverty, crime, disease and all forms of social maladjustment were regarded as evils to be fought with the strength of the organized Church. The dictum which

imposes upon us the charge to be our brother's keeper was taken seriously. There can be little doubt that this movement in the churches was one of the primary forces in giving rise to our present social agencies.

Loyalty to the Institution or the Group?

Institutions are inevitable in organized society. And institutions in themselves are not harmful. They become social dangers when they proceed without a science and a philosophy. It is obvious to the most casual observer that our institutionalism lacks both scientific principles and philosophic bases. It has grown with but little conscious direction applied to its relationship to larger social groups. Many of our social agencies have become vested interests; they lay claim to certain rights and privileges which they guard zealously. It is not an uncommon spectacle, in modern communities, to find social agencies involved in dissensions and quarrels, almost as deeply rooted and as prejudicial as the old religious animosities. This cannot, of course, go on with safety.

In order to be successful and to maintain enthusiasm, an institution must have a loyal clientele. Can such a clientele be developed without injury to the larger community inter-

ests? It can, if right principles are utilized. Among such principles are:

(1) The recognition of the fact that man's usefulness to mankind is enhanced by the increase of his social regard. In proportion to the degree in which man is related rightly to an ever-increasing and enlarging group, does he become socially valuable. To narrow his interests is to restrict his social growth.

(2) The recognition of the laws of voluntary aggregation and association among human beings.

(a) An organization, or group, has certain elements of *attraction* which draw persons to it.

(b) An organization has certain definite *purposes* which hold it together.

(c) An organization has *ideals* which inspire the members.

(d) An organization has modes of *action* which perpetuate dynamic interest.

(e) An organization produces a period of *dispersal,* in which its members gain larger value by extending their interests.

These two sets of principles involve a technique of organization and institutionalism,

which is just now emerging from the chaos of the last half century. Institutions which apply them can solve one of their fundamental problems, namely the problem of maintaining a loyal clientele without interfering with the unified progress of the entire community group.

The most difficult lesson to learn is that groups have a period of dispersal, a time when their members should be sent out to larger tasks and wider interests. Many institutions, in a self-centered manner, attempt to "hold" their members and their officers. If an institution is sincerely socially-minded in its program, one of its tasks will be to train its members for other services. There is a mistaken notion that the person who is vitally interested in the larger group—the community—cannot possibly have an intense loyalty to his smaller institution. This is merely a misconception of the fundamental utility of institutions. They come into existence as a result of community needs, and they retain their standing in the community only so long as they meet some definite needs. There are exceptions to this rule, of course; some institutions become vested interests and maintain themselves on the basis of traditions long after their periods of real usefulness have passed. They have no organic separate existence; they are parts of the community—

organized parts for functioning purposes only. When institutions forget this fact and assume that they are separate entities, serving their own ends with the aim of perpetuating themselves as institutions, they become dangerous to the community interest.

Such institutions lay claim to loyalties which are narrowing and eventually stifling. They degrade the individual's citizenship; they cause the community to be exploited in the interest of the institution. In their time they will learn that "first things shall be first," and that their self-centered attitude will be their own undoing. A good citizen is one who thinks in community terms. In order to achieve certain ends for his community, he allies himself with agencies and institutions which render definite services. In a growing Democracy, this latter relationship must always be secondary. The good citizen—

Thinks first of his family group;
Next of his neighborhood group;
Next of his community group;
Next of his institutional group;
Next of his county or district group;
Next of his commonwealth or state group;
Next of his national group;
Next of his international or world group.

These varieties of loyalties do not necessarily imply conflicts of loyalty. The best citizen is not the one who thinks exclusively in terms of his family group. The best citizen is the person who can distribute his loyalties so that the highest use is made of his special capacities. If all his energies go to a single group, he is destined to become narrowly circumscribed. There are, of course, persons whose capacities are so limited that they are not to be expected to increase materially in loyalty-capacity. Many more are trained in the opposite direction, through affiliation with some institutions whose ideals are narrow.

The Community Movement is now a halting, vague and uncertain process,—largely because of the deep inroads which institutions have made upon the community loyalties of individuals. Such individuals are labeled institutionally; they are known in the community for their intense loyalty to this or that institution, and not for their democratic citizenship in the community. There are hopeful signs that in a Democracy such labels will not "stick," and that there is to be a readjustment which will in no measure injure our modern institutions, but which will give them their scientific place in the community structure and process. The institutions which first learn this truth will be the

ones privileged to render the greatest service in the future, organized community.

(3) The recognition of the social law of the *division of labor*.

As life increases in complexity it becomes more social. That is to say, it creates more needs which can only be met by cooperation. Our primitive ancestors had fewer wants than we have. They also had fewer diseases. Their social organization was necessarily simple and institutionalism played a very small part in its processes. The first institutions were extensive rather than intensive in function. The evolution of institutional growth, in an increasingly complex society, is from general programs to specific programs.

The Institutional Evolution of the Church

The early Christian Church was an institution with generalized functions. Among these functions were:

(a) Expounding religious doctrine.
(b) Religious and ethical education.
(c) General education.
(d) Economic control.
(e) Philanthropy.

In addition to these functions there have been, at various periods of the evolution of the Church, other offices which the Church discharged. It has at times been specifically political in a semi-functionary sense. In its more modern stages of evolution, some branches of the Church have assumed recreational and sociable functions, but these must be regarded as atavistic phenomena and not as a part of the more fundamental evolution. In an historical sense, the evolution of the Church has been from generalized function to specific function. This has been particularly true of the Protestant branch of the Christian Church, and for the obvious reason that divided congregations in a community could not continue to serve the entire community.

Step by step, the Church relinquished parts of its original or accrued functions. In the United States the Church was explicitly separated from the State, and from the sphere of politics. Soon after the beginnings of the new Nation, education was taken from the Church, and a little later philanthropy followed. The Church had long since abandoned economic control.

During the last thirty years, or more, there has been a distinct Church movement which

goes by the name of the "institutional church." This movement is based upon the theory that the Church is losing out in the institutional rivalry of the times because it is not rendering larger services for its members and the community. Institutional churches provide playgrounds, motion pictures, cafeterias and numerous other services. From the sociological viewpoint there are two possible dangers in this movement. In the first place, it may prevent division of labor in such service. In the second place, the church at times makes of these services vested interests, which will later make it difficult for specialized agencies to function properly in the community. There is an added objection from the viewpoint of the church itself, and that is the fact that the church's fundamental function of religious, or spiritual motivation, is likely to suffer when it is encumbered with the doing of many things.

In small communities where there is but one church or in communities where there are a small number of churches, it may be expedient for the church to render certain social services. If this is done with an idea based upon the assumption that specialized agencies will be brought to the community later to take over

these services, such a program must be recognized as one of great value.

The law of the *division of labor* is based upon the following premises:

(a) A specialized agency can perform services more efficiently than a general one.

(b) The institution which initiates a program, and then develops other agencies to take over this program, thereby retains more energy and time for its specialty.

(c) A generalized program is likely to detract from the institution's primary function.

(d) The specialized agencies have been called into existence as a result of the increasing complexity of modern social living. Their mission will be seriously hampered if generalized agencies promote similar programs.

(e) The specialized agencies are here, and most of them are likely to remain. General programs, promoted by institutions, are destined to produce serious overlapping and duplication of work.

A consideration of the law of the division of labor indicates that modern institutions grow by the loss of function, and not by the increase of function. In other words, they increase the

intensity of their programs when in healthy growth; conversely, they extend their programs when they have become pathological and out of harmony with modern social process.

The Church has been selected as an illustration of the law of division of labor. The same principle applies to all other institutions. The school center movement may appear to be an exception to the rule. Upon closer study it will be revealed that this is not the case. The successful school centers are not reestablishing lost functions; they are rather assuming new or neglected functions. The most successful school centers are those in which the highest and best use is made of the specialized agencies of the community. The institutional church movement may be said to have had insufficient time to demonstrate its program. This may be true, but there is no scientific evidence that the institutional churches of longest standing have increased in spiritual power. This must be the final test. In the concluding chapter, this question will be approached from the standpoint of the coming function of the Church in the organized community. The positive issues, which may not appear clearly at this time, will then be brought forward.

How Many Agencies Can a Community Support?

There is little scientific study upon which an answer to this query may be based. The facts in regard to one community may throw some light on the problem.

In this community there are eighteen thousand people. In addition to twenty-two churches and six schools, there are twenty-three specialized service agencies. Sixteen of these agencies employ paid workers. All of them raise funds by subscription and through membership. The time came when there was felt to be a need of another agency. The leading citizens upon whose shoulders fell the burden of economic support agreed that the need existed. Serious attempts were made to create favorable sentiment. There was no discoverable objection to the proposed new agency. Finally, a small group of citizens decided to make a study of the community's resources to determine whether or not there were any tangible economic barriers. Their conclusion was that such barriers existed and that it was not possible to introduce the new agency without injury to those already established. Further investigation by persons who were not citizens of this community sustained this opinion.

The above example does not imply that there is a definite ratio between a given population and the number of agencies which it can support. This is but one of the factors to be considered. Other factors are:

(a) Do the existing agencies function efficiently?

(b) Is the supporting clientele of the existing agencies too limited in number?

(c) Is there a period of financial depression?

(d) Are the existing agencies willing to cooperate in bringing the new agency to the community?

In Chapter IX the processes which are involved in the community's action will be discussed. This discussion should reveal other factors which affect the number of service agencies which a community can support. It becomes increasingly pertinent that some scientific principles must be applied to this problem. These principles await further study.

How May Duplication Be Prevented?

At this juncture it is sufficient to say that duplication of effort among social agencies is inevitable, so long as the law of the division of labor is not recognized. Mere duplication is not in itself harmful; it becomes harmful when

it is not recognized as duplication, or when the duplicating agencies insist upon "holding fast" to an established program. The process of eliminating duplication should not be allowed to become a mere delimiting of function. Emphasis should rather be placed upon insisting that the specialized agencies cover their special fields thoroughly. Wherever duplication occurs it is safe to conclude that some agencies are not doing effective work in their specialized fields of service. The best utilization of service agencies can only be secured when such agencies are coordinated by means of a council, or federation, of all agencies. Inasmuch as this involves one of the phases of community organization, it will be discussed later.

The Diminishing Returns of Overworked Leadership

The overhead machinery of the social agencies of a modern community presents a tangle of "interlocking directorates." The same personnel, with only minor exceptions, is used in nearly all of the agencies and institutions of the community. The answer to the question, "How can the community safeguard itself from depleting its leadership, through the use of the same groups in all agencies?" is contained in the word "Democracy."

The urge toward leadership is stronger and more commonly distributed than is generally supposed. We lack leadership because we lack faith in the so-called common man. We use the same leaders over and over until they reach the point of diminishing returns, and then we flatten out on the plane of inertia.

We use the same leadership in all movements because we have an erroneous concept of the elements of leadership. We assume that because a person has won success in some form, he is destined to be successful in others. There is a modicum of truth in this assumption, but there is also a burden of error. The major financial support for most of our institutions comes from persons of wealth. This is their rightful contribution. It is a misapprehension, however, to conclude that because they have wealth they must also have the ability to wisely direct social movements. From the standpoint of democratic process, it is also unjust to place the control of institutions in the hands of those who furnish the major portion of the economic support. It would not be good political science to assume that the citizen who paid the largest amount in taxes should be the person with the greatest influence in government. That this assumption is made, and that it is acted upon, is not to be denied; it is, however, unsound

political science. It is equally unsound in principle when applied to the social institutions. Social institutions should be supported in proportion to economic capacity, but they should be directed according to intellectual and social capacity.

When a person invests money in an institution he is likely to be interested in the management of that institution. There is no legitimate objection to this accepted axiom. The great difficulty with most of our institutions is that they are supported by too few people. The man who contributes the dollar may be more valuable to the management of the institution than the man who contributes one thousand dollars. He may have great potentialities for leadership. We have grossly neglected him. When social institutions are more definitely related to the community by means of community organization, we shall have greatly increased resources of leadership.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Compare the number of social institutions in a rural and an urban community.
2. Secure the dates of the foundation of fifteen prominent social agencies in the United States. Compare these dates with

economic and political movements which were more or less contemporaneous.

3. Name three Church leaders responsible for the rise of the emphasis upon the social implications of the Christian religion. Discuss their contributions.
4. Analyze your membership in some institution, according to the theory of group attraction, ideals, purposes, action and dispersal.
5. Study types of citizenship according to the circumference of their social regard; beginning with the family and ending with the human family, or the world.
6. Make an analysis of the evolution of the family, in the light of the law of the division of labor.
7. Study other institutions such as the Young Men's Christian Association, organized charities, etc.
8. Does the law of the division of labor in social affairs have any similarities to the corresponding law in industrial affairs? Discuss and analyze these similarities.
9. Study the budgets of the social agencies of some community. Compare these figures with the wealth resources of the community. Compare the studies of all members of the class, with a view to charting the factors of wealth, number of agencies and population.

10. Study the social agencies of some community to discover the amount and the nature of duplication of effort.
11. Study the social agencies of some community with the view of determining the extent of duplication of leadership.
12. What plans would you suggest to institutions desiring to increase the number and worth of their leaders?

CHAPTER IX

THE PROCESS OF COMMUNITY ACTION

The community as a social body seldom acts as a single unit. Its achievements are more likely to be the result of the activities of a few coordinated groups within the community. The ideal Democratic Community would be completely articulated; all of its parts would be related to the community process. Such communities do not exist, nor has the democratic idea been adequately applied to community action. There are indications that many communities are groping toward this ideal, however, and the substance of this chapter is based upon these gropings.

In our present state of group organization and of institutional allegiances, it is folly to think of the community as an association of individuals. It is an association of groups. In the functional sense, it is these groups which give direction and policy to community action. In making the study which forms the basis of this chapter, community projects were considered. They were not in a strict manner

community projects, but projects which some groups in the community promoted for the presumed good of the community. One group wished to establish a chamber of commerce, another a Young Women's Christian Association, another a playground. Slightly more than seven hundred such projects have been studied with the aim of determining whether, or not, any psychological and sociological facts might be induced.

The interpretation of this study will be aided by reference to the theory of Democracy, as discussed in Chapter VI.

The Democratic Process cannot be diagramed with the individual at the center, and the group at the circumference. Neither can it be pictured with the group at the center and the individual at the circumference. A new graph is needed. The circle is not adequate. An ellipse with the individual and the group as focal points, equi-distant from each other and from the circumference, will be more serviceable.

Steps in Community Action

It appears that there are certain definite steps which community groups pass through in arriving at points of action. The division of these steps, here attempted, is quite arbitrary,

and should not be considered in a strictly scientific manner. Persons who have studied these summaries do not agree on the classification here used. Further study and analysis of a larger number of projects may change the classification materially.

A portion of these steps in community action are sociological, and some are psychological. There is no apparent means by which the sciences of sociology and of social psychology can be separated in this analysis.

Step Number One

Consciousness of need; some person, either within or without the community, expresses the need which is later represented by the definite project.

Step Number Two

Spreading the consciousness of need; a leader, within some institution or group within the community, convinces his or her group, or a portion of the group, of the reality of the need.

Step Number Three

Projection of consciousness of need; the group interested attempts to project the consciousness of need upon the leadership of the community; the consciousness of need becomes more general.

STEP NUMBER FOUR

Emotional impulse to meet the need quickly; some influential assistance is enlisted, in the attempt to arrive at a quick means of meeting the need.

STEP NUMBER FIVE

Presentation of other solutions; other means of meeting the need are presented.

STEP NUMBER SIX

Conflict of solutions; various groups lend their support to one or the other of the various solutions presented.

STEP NUMBER SEVEN

Investigation; it appears to be increasingly customary to pause at this point, and to investigate the project with expert assistance. (This step, however, is usually omitted and the following one takes its place.)

STEP NUMBER EIGHT

Open discussion of issue; a public mass meeting or gathering of some sort is held, at which the project is presented, and the groups with most influence attempt to secure adoption of their plans.

Step Number Nine

Integration of solutions; the various solutions presented are tested, with an effort to retain something out of each, in the practicable solution which is now emerging.

Step Number Ten

Compromise on basis of tentative progress; certain groups relinquish certain elements of their plans in order to save themselves from complete defeat, and the solution which results is a compromise with certain reservations. The means selected for meeting the need are not satisfactory to all groups, but are regarded as tentatively progressive.

Many projects end at Step Number Four, on the emotional plane. Other projects are closed, either favorably or unfavorably, at some one of the following six steps. (It must be remembered that all projects do not originate in the manner here indicated, nor do all of them pass through all of these steps. This Outline merely represents the procedure that emerges from a study of those projects which are more or less typical of the processes that make up the present stage of community action.) The ten steps described will now be considered in detail:

Consciousness of need. The consciousness of a need may appear on account of an emotional, intellectual, or accidental cause. Frequently some misfortune to a member of the community brings about the sudden revelation that the community lacks the means for the prevention of such a catastrophe. Upon this accidental basis many projects receive their original impetus. Occasionally some speaker moves the community to a realization of its needs. In some communities there are intellectual circles in which problems of a social nature are discussed; such discussion frequently leads to definite realization of needs.

Service agencies and investigative agencies are sometimes invited to study communities with the object of discovering needs. There are wide differences of opinion and misunderstandings in regard to this method of approach to the needs of communities. Many contend that such agencies often "manufacture" certain needs, which call for the services of the particular agency making the study. This undoubtedly happens in many instances, and the particular bias, which motivates the workers of an agency, is apt to cause incorrect interpretations.

The study of over seven hundred community projects does not reveal that the ultimate success of a project is affected by the manner in

which the consciousness of need originates. The manner in which the project proceeds, after it has once been started, is intimately related to the theory of Democracy, and is highly important in so far as ultimate success is concerned. The most frequent cause for failure in relation to this first step is haste. Most enthusiasts, especially those representing an "outside" service agency, do not take sufficient pains and exercise full patience in the process of spreading the consciousness of need in the community.

Spreading the consciousness of need. If the need becomes conscious in the mind of a recognized leader of ample experience in the given community, it usually follows that the right method of spreading this consciousness is utilized. But most communities have several types of leaders. There are true leaders, false leaders, assumed leaders, presumed leaders, self-imposed leaders, accidental leaders, leaders out-of-their-sphere, selfish leaders, social-prestige leaders, economic-prestige leaders, political-prestige leaders and leaders undiscovered. The relation between leadership and the Democratic Process will be discussed in a succeeding chapter, and is mentioned here only to indicate its vital importance in community action.

The good leader has a following; it may be within a church, a business group, a labor union,

or a sociable club. This following is psychologically receptive to ideas emanating from its leader. As regards most projects, in modern communities, some such leader takes the initiative in spreading the consciousness of need within his group or following. This mode of action is now so prevalent in our communities that its acceptance amounts almost to an axiom. Projects which are just emerging from the *consciousness of need stage* are spoken of in relation to some particular group. "If Blank Group takes this matter up, it will succeed," is the terse idiomatic expression of this theory.

Projection of consciousness of need. There are cross-currents of group allegiances, within the group, which are utilized in spreading the consciousness of need. Many of its members are also related to other groups in a vital manner. Through these members other vital-interest groups are brought within the sphere of consciousness of need.

Friction often develops at this point. If there are jealousies between these various groups, and there usually are, suspicions arise. The question of who is to receive the "credit," meaning the glory and honor, for this particular project, in case it succeeds, affects the receptivity of other groups. This is to be expected and is not in any important degree dangerous.

It merely points to the necessity of inter-group coordination. Where such coordination is totally lacking, projects are invariably "put through" in an anti-democratic fashion. Conversely, where such coordination exists, there is little fear of applying the principles of Democracy.

There is as yet a scant amount of theory and principle in regard to the action of these vital-interest groups. They are not yet accepted in fact as being vital; they are not accepted as dominant realities; and until they are there will be little science in community action.

The inter-action of leaders and groups is an effective way of projecting the consciousness of need upon the community. In city communities, the press and other avenues of communication are utilized in bringing the issue to the attention of the organized and unorganized mass of the people. During periods of great stress and unbalanced emotionalism, such as war periods, certain methods of publicity may be used which are totally unsuccessful in the more calm and peaceful times. If patriotism to the larger unit, the state or nation, may be invoked, publicity takes on an imperious and compulsory air. The need becomes a peril, and the consciousness of the need becomes a duty. When the psychology of the public is in a normal state, the publicity of a

project must make a double appeal; it must reach the intellect as well as the emotions.

The most effective means of projecting the consciousness of need are group meetings and discussions. Each vital-interest group approaches the issue with a slightly different viewpoint, interpreted, of course, with a group bias. These various viewpoints throw new light on the need, and educate many people to a new insight into the community process. This method also produces the result of fairness and of willingness to submit to the rigors of debate. In large communities, this method must be supplemented by the more general types of publicity.

Emotional impulse to meet the need quickly. During the process of projecting the need through the various groups of the community, it usually occurs that some leader or some group makes a proposal for a quick solution of the problem. There appears a sudden impulse of shame, coupled with pride; the community's honor is placed at stake. Hurried conferences with small groups, emotionalized publicity, and semi-religious fervor accompany this step. Something *must* be done and at once!

Study of numerous projects reveals the fact that it is unwise to arrive at a solution of a problem at this point. The emotional solution

is likely to prevent ample discussion. It "heads off" certain conflicts and objections which have not yet emerged. Existing agencies are overlooked. The wrong type of leadership is selected, for it is seldom that the emotional leader can also be the one who can construct a workable program, for the days after the emotional interest has spent itself.

It is a common occurrence to witness a transfer of leadership during this step. The person or the group that originated the project is relegated to the background, while the person or the group with the emotional appeal comes into ascendancy.

The leader who attempts to use scientific principles in promoting community projects is likely to make the error of overlooking the value of this emotional interest. It has deep values which need to be utilized. The emotional leaders have an important rôle in the community process, and it is dangerous to allow them to suffer defeat. Emotionalism must be intellectualized. This cannot take place in the community process without discussion and conflict.

Presentation of other solutions. If the emotional impetus is not sufficiently strong to consummate the project, various solutions are presented by other leaders and groups. To many

leaders this appears to be a stage of unnecessary delay. They chafe under this delay and sometimes unjustly ascribe ulterior motives to those who cause the postponement. There are, of course, many cases in which this is true; certain obstructionist elements in the community use the emotional period as an effective time for imposing obstacles. It is more frequently true, however, that those who present other solutions are merely expressing an interest, generated within their vital-interest groups. This interest should be conserved. It becomes invaluable in the succeeding step.

Conflict of solutions. The subterranean conflicts within the community need to be brought to the surface. They continue to be dangerous to community action so long as they remain obscured. They may be mere divergences of opinion in the beginning, but if left in the dark they become real conflicts between individuals and groups.

It is at this point that leadership again comes to trial. The leader imbued with the ideals of Democracy welcomes the conflict. The autocratic leader attempts to submerge the conflict, or to proceed as though it did not exist. The submerged conflicts never remain submerged. They reappear to haunt the community through all its action. Moreover, they increase in in-

tensity with time, and sometimes reach the stage of bitterness and hatred. Projects which are consummated at this stage appear to be successful for a number of years, but there comes a time when the old conflicts come to the surface, and success is imperiled.

The leader, or the group, managing the project, adopts one of two courses: a scientific investigation of the project may be urged, or a move may be made toward a Democratic discussion on a community-wide basis. Both methods may be used.

Investigation. The investigative stage should, of course, appear much earlier in the process. It seldom does. There is an increasing tendency toward investigations conducted by certain agencies within the community, or by some expert called in from the outside. The investigation is ordinarily used at the point when it is believed that scientific testimony will outweigh objections. This means that it usually comes during the later stages of community action.

In such organizations as chambers of commerce it is coming to be the practice to appoint special committees to study certain proposed projects, in the light of what other communities have done. The reports of these committees

are then used in public meetings as the impelling force.

If no investigation is ordered, and if the project cannot be consummated within the vital-interest groups, an appeal is made to the general public. This appeal also comes following the investigation.

Open discussion of issue. Most American communities continue a faith in mass action; at least they simulate such a faith. There are many grounds for believing that the so-called dynamic leaders of our communities, in actuality, place their faith in individual or group action. The Democratic Process has certain traditional and lingering affections in the minds of even those who disobey its principles. Most leaders like to think that they have acted democratically, and it frequently happens that those who are least capable of utilizing Democracy speak most loudly in its praise.

The community mass-meeting is our favorite recourse. A mass-meeting is a place of open and free discussion. It is the free-born citizen's opportunity for expression. Under modern methods of manipulation of mass psychology, it often becomes a degenerate farce of Democracy. Every detail of the meeting is planned in advance by the leaders. Speakers are "primed" to say the right thing at the right time. The

objectors are silenced by the preponderance of opposite evidence. Step by step, the engineers of the mass-meeting lead the audience on to its "spontaneous" support of the project. This type of mass-meeting is even more dangerous than the emotional effervescence, discussed above. It is more dangerous because it is dishonest; it pretends to go through the motions of Democratic action while its very purpose is to defeat it.

Such meetings can be organized with such skillful technique that all conflicts are submerged. The discussions give no aid to the rationalization of the project. Those who came with the hope of making either a positive or a negative contribution to the discussion go away with a hidden feeling of resentment. In their hearts they know that the meeting was "fixed," and that their objections would not have been welcomed or understood. It is this type of maneuvering which has done so much to make Democracy appear to be impractical. Those who engage in this form of promotion are the real enemies of Democracy.

It takes courage, the courage of firm convictions, to permit conflicts to appear in a public meeting. There must be a great deal of righteousness and unselfishness on the side of the proposed project before it can be attempted.

But conflict is the only possible method by which ideas can be clarified in group action. When once the conflicting factors are brought into the open, they lose most of their force; providing, of course, that the conflicting factors are based upon unjust objections. It may take more time, and it certainly requires infinitely more patience and faith in man to use the Democratic Process. The world now awaits such patience, faith and courage. If Democracy cannot be applied to the problems of the small local community, how futile it is to speak of it as a national or an international ideal!

Integration of solutions. The various solutions for a project, which appear during its process, cannot be added together. Arithmetical methods cannot be applied to human and psychological processes. The final solution which emerges from discussion must be an integration of all solutions. The integrating process does not wholly eliminate any one group. It may eliminate all of that group's proposed solution, but it will not reject that group's contribution to the discussion; the group will feel that it has in some manner affected the final consummation of the project.

In the integrating process it is highly important not to break down the various group allegiances. There may be the temptation to

capitalize certain elements of other groups who were not in entire accord with *the* group's position. It may appear an easy matter to deflect these elements from their vital-interest group allegiances. The leader who takes a long look ahead will refrain from following this step. The best interests of the community will be conserved if these allegiances are maintained. The next project which appears will cause differing positions within the groups.

The acceptance of the integrated solution will not satisfy all parties entirely. In fact, it will not prove to be a good solution unless the community is trained to approve of tentative progress.

Compromise on the basis of tentative progress. All progress is tentative. The absolutist overlooks this fact. He wants absolute and not tentative progress. His complete program must be adopted. Communities can be trained to accept the theory of tentative progress, if their leadership emphasizes agreements and minimizes differences in the final solution. No self-respecting person desires to be known as a compromiser. The implication of that term is that compromises level downward. As a matter of plain fact, all of life is a compromise. We must learn how to make compromises level upward.

The perfect solution of a project is seldom achieved. It might be harmful if this could happen; it might leave too little room for the adaptation of the project to the changing conditions within the community. Those who lose something in the integration of solutions also gain. They permit the community to sense the feeling of success. Their personal interests and ideas may have suffered slight declines. There is no necessity for the loss of *ideals*. They are now organically related to the project. The creative portions of their idealism may now function in the unfolding of the project. Their compromise has been a stepping-stone upon which they have risen to greater achievement. They have accepted tentative progress as one means of reaching toward a more perfect progress.

This complete process of community action may be summarized in three stages:

First, Consciousness of need.

Second, Emotional desire to meet need.

Third, Intellectual solution, based upon social groupings.

The technique for the first two stages is more or less simple. The last step is the most difficult and the one which lacks technique. We have become so accustomed to the acceptance of

decisions by majority votes and by other modes, derived principally from traditional politics, that we fail to understand the complexities of organic social process. As the social structure increases in complexity, it will become more and more imperative to recognize the rôle of the vital-interest groups. The science of future community action depends in a large measure upon the development of means of coordination between these groups, so that the community interest will not suffer. This means community organization on a non-political basis.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Study a number of community projects; divide the various stages of the project into definite steps.
2. Write the history of some community project, covering at least five years.
3. Construct the mode of procedure for a project in some community of your acquaintance, and describe the program which you would follow if this project were in your hands.
4. If you were employed by a service agency to go to a community with the objective of having the community adopt your program, what initial steps would you take?

5. Make a list of a number of projects which have failed; analyze the causes of failure.
6. Make a list of a number of projects which have succeeded; analyze the causes of success.
7. Formulate the publicity program for a playground project, in a community of 10,000 population.
8. Formulate the publicity program for a charity organization, in a community of 50,000 population.
9. Why does new leadership often appear during the emotional stage?
10. Why does new leadership also frequently appear at the stage of integration of solutions?
11. Make an analysis of the compromise which President Lincoln made in connection with the Civil War.
12. Make a list of ten important decisions of your life; analyze the compromises involved.
13. Why are revolutions and other periods of emotional excess usually followed by periods of reaction?

CHAPTER X

THEORIES AND PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The underlying forces which have produced the Community Movement have also made it necessary to devise some sort of social machinery which will give functional reality to the movement. The Community Movement as a social force and community organization as a phase of social process should not be confused. The essential problem of community organization is to furnish a working relationship between the *Democratic Process* and *Specialism*. The Democratic Process expresses itself, or is personified in the total community membership. The Specialist expresses himself, or is personified in the division of labor which produces highly skilled persons and agencies, organizations, or institutions, equipped to do one thing effectively.

The specialist, as an individual or as a representative of an institution, can achieve more rapidly in an autocratic environment in which specialism is recognized scientifically. When

scientific education becomes more or less universal, the specialist's progress will be more direct and more rapid. But, in societies where scientific education is not universal, the specialist comes into what appears to be a direct conflict with Democracy. The democratic method is slow, cumbersome, halting and beset with many back-eddies which seem to be anti-progressive. The specialist becomes impatient with all of this and desires to go straight toward his goal. He *knows*. The constituents of Democracy do not know, and must be shown the way. The way may be long and devious but it cannot be avoided; there is no short-cut toward Democracy. If there were, it would be "too light a thing" as an ideal, and the children of earth would not suffer for its achievement.

Community organization exists wherever Democracy and Specialism are approximating working relationships. It may not be possible to diagram this relationship,—for it may be nothing more than an element of good-will,—but it is nevertheless a phase of community organization which presages some later form of mechanics of organization. There is a tendency among many community organization enthusiasts to perfect a mechanical structure in advance of a social and spiritual foundation. Charts and diagrams of schemes for community

organization have their value, if it is clearly understood that they are mere pictures and that they, like all pictures, depict but poorly the image of a reality. Such pictorial schemes of community organization contain dangers for students, inasmuch as they portray something which is almost wholly imaginary and which does not exist in fact. Social engineering, as it evolves toward the stage of art, will be more closely akin to the art of the poet than to that of the draughtsman or the painter. It will be an expression of spirit and of function, rather than of structure.

With this warning in mind, we may proceed to the discussion of the theory and the mechanics of community organization. Nothing is more characteristic of the American people than is their tendency to organize. While social organization is a natural process for human beings in contiguity, it is with the American people more than a natural process; it is a developed technique. There are some who call it the American mark of genius, and it has tendencies to go to extremes, like all manifestations of genius. Unless we can develop a rational, philosophic basis for our manifold organizations, we shall find ourselves consumed by their machinery. "Not much can be done," says a noted church leader, "until we have a president,

a vice-president, a secretary and an executive committee. Then the thing we desire to do must be moved and seconded, and referred and amended, and substituted and officially authorized by a formal vote. Still further, a committee must be appointed to carry out the mandate of the chief body. Machinery, machinery, machinery! Wheels and cogs, and pulleys, and levers, and lathes, and magnetos, and dynamos, and cylinders, and cylinder-rods, and cyclometers galore! How constitutions and by-laws have taken possession of us! How personality has been absorbed by the machine!" But machinery is necessary. There will be more rather than less of it in the future. Our primary task is to understand the machinery and then to interpret it in terms of social and spiritual values. This is no easy task after social machinery has been woven into traditionalism.

Types of Community Organization

Types of community organization, as conceived theoretically, will be first studied. This discussion will be followed by a discussion of a number of organizations now in operation.

I. *The* Direct *theory of community organization,—in which vital-interest groups, agencies, organizations and institutions*

are not regarded as important or vital. The individual is related to the community organization as an individual and by right of his citizenship; his group adherence is minimized, while his community adherence is emphasized.

It is customary in this form of organization to insist upon the theory of pure Democracy, and to attempt to approximate it in the structure of the community organization. Ordinarily, men and women above eighteen or twenty-one years of age are considered as citizens in the community, and hence related to the community organization.

There are three general forms of this type of community organization:

1. Including the total citizenship.
2. Including those who "join" a community club [voluntary].
3. Including those who "join" a neighborhood club, which is related to the community organization organically.

All of these various forms of the *direct* method of community organization function through committees, appointed or elected to perform special tasks. The responsible body is the totality of the citizenship.

Arguments favoring the *direct* method of community organization:

(a) It prevents the domination of certain "cliques" or agencies, organizations, or institutions within the community.

(b) It assumes social equality, and thus conforms with our current political theory of equality.

(c) It simplifies the definition of a community by utilizing the political unit.

(d) It restores elements of "lost citizenship," which have been absorbed by the vital-interest groups.

(e) It assumes a greater degree of permanence than is generally accredited to institutional organization.

Arguments against the *direct* method of community organization:

(a) It presupposes a degree of Democracy which does not exist.

(b) It overlooks the actuality of the division of labor among social agencies, organizations and institutions.

(c) It assumes that the political forces will always be dominant, while it seems apparent that economic and social forces are now in the ascendancy.

(d) It places altogether too little emphasis upon the intensity of membership in a vital-interest group.

(e) It makes no definite provisions for securing the highest services of the specialists.

II. *The* INDIRECT *theory of community organization,—in which the individual is related to the community organization through his membership or adherence in a vital-interest group. The total citizenship is not included in the community organization, but receives its expression through the coordination of groups.*

There are three general forms of this type of organization:

1. Federation of groups, agencies, organizations, or institutions whose functions are similar, such as:
   (a) Federations of churches.
   (b) Federations of educational agencies.
   (c) Federations of labor unions.
   (d) Federations of women's clubs.
2. Federation of service or social work agencies such as:
   (a) Associated charities.
   (b) Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.
   (c) Salvation Army.
   (d) Boy Scouts.
   (e) Recreation associations.

NOTE. In some cases governmental agencies are related to this type of organization in an unofficial sense.

3. Federations of all organizations, agencies and institutions having service programs; that is, a combination of 1 and 2 above.

This type of community organization is spreading very rapidly at the present time. The word "federation," implying more or less organic unity, is being supplanted by the terms "exchange" or "council." The tendency seems to be toward councils with advisory capacities only; it is assumed that proper coordination will result when the various agencies, organizations and institutions reach a plane of mutual understanding. The motive for this type of organization is too frequently that of preventing duplication, instead of insuring the greater effectiveness of the various cooperating groups. This type of organization received a great impetus during the late War, when private and group interests were subordinated to a marked degree. It was discovered that the task of raising funds for the various groups could be accomplished with less effort if the budgets were amalgamated. The "community budget" became a popular undertaking, and led naturally toward cooperation in program making as well as in financing. Since the War there has been a decided reaction against this tendency on the part of a number of agencies. This reaction, however, has not been sufficient to check the tendency.

Arguments favoring the *indirect* method of community organization:

(a) It reduces institutional rivalry.

(b) It tends to focus the attention of the community upon its service agencies and institutions, in the light of community services.

(c) It leads to certain standards of work, which raise the level of effectiveness of all agencies and institutions.

(d) It permits individuals to retain their vital interest in those groups which are most responsive to their individual temperaments.

(e) It prevents duplication and overlapping.

(f) It provides for the highest use of the specialists.

Arguments against the *indirect* method of community organization:

(a) It is not in the true sense "community organization." but merely the organization of portions of the functioning part of the community.

(b) It shifts individual responsibility to the community, before the community is trained to accept this responsibility.

(c) It tends to diminish the highly personal interest, which individuals, especially "givers," have developed in certain agencies or institutions.

(d) The combination of existing agencies may defeat the law of the division of labor, by preventing new agencies and organizations from entering the community.

(e) It tends to neglect the development of volunteer leadership.

III. *The* COMPOUND *theory of community organization,—in which both the direct and the indirect methods are utilized. According to this theory the ultimate aim of community organization is to secure Democratic control, without minimizing the effectiveness of specialists and specialized institutions.*

There are two general forms of this type of community organization:

1. In which the representatives of agencies and institutions are balanced by a like number of representatives, chosen from the citizenship at large.

2. In which three distinct groups are recognized:

   Those who receive services (beneficiaries).

   Those who render services (agencies, institutions, specialists).

   Those who pay for services (the people or citizenship).

Each of these groups is represented in the general community organization, and the executive body which functions represents all of them.

On account of the complexity of the compound theory of community organization it is usually contended that it is impracticable. The average citizen has so little agility of mind that he cannot grasp this schematic method of relating himself to the community process. He wants something more simple. If the compound theory is to succeed, it will need to develop from some less complex form of organization. In the light of the theory of Democracy and of our present status of group allegiances, the compound theory of community organization is sound in principle, and hence must be ultimately workable. In the meantime, all types of community organization will be utilized. The more unhampered the experiment that can be encouraged during the next decade or two, the better for the community movement. Conversely, the less dogmatism displayed by those interested in any particular type of organization, the more wholesome will be the atmosphere of this new, applied science, which is destined to be so vital to human welfare.

Examples of Community Organization

The student will secure his most valuable insight into the technique of community organization through the study of what actually exists. Social theory is interesting and should be a part of the equipment of the student of community organization. But the social engineer deals with stubborn material. He needs a large amount of pragmatism in his approach to the problems of human relationships. There has already been created a certain distrust for social engineering; "paper" organizations abound. The wise leader will retain his theory and his idealism, while he makes practical use of the tools at hand. A cross-section of the "community mind" reveals a surprisingly small amount of agility and suppleness in the realm of ideas. On the other hand, the "community mind" reveals a surprisingly large amount of practical information and ability. And, after all, the community organization which suits best a given community, must be indigenous to that community; it cannot be "grafted" on, but must grow out of the community life and experience.

The use of the local resources in building a community organization may not result in a structure which will be satisfactory to the or-

ganizer, but it will have more likelihood of success than one that he might have imposed upon the community. As examples of community organization are studied, it will be observed that variations in structure may be accounted for by such factors as the size of the community, the character of the population (urban, suburban, or rural), the motives of the agency initiating or stimulating the organization, the immediate objectives of the organization, and the former degree of organization existing in the community.

Neighborhood, or Community, Improvement Clubs or Associations

This form of organization was popular, and more or less common, to all sections of the country one and two decades ago. The impetus apparently came from the New England states, and was originally based upon the desire to improve the physical surroundings and to enhance the landscape of the smaller towns and villages. In fact, the term "Village Improvement Society" was commonly used in New England. The objectives of this type of organization naturally broadened and included various elements of social and economic improvement. The membership in most cases was made up

entirely of men and usually of a small section of the population, whose ideals and aspirations for the community were higher than the standard set by the political organization of the community.

The simplicity of these organizations made it possible to extend them without promotion agencies. There were, however, several attempts at state federations of improvement associations. The process of organization was:

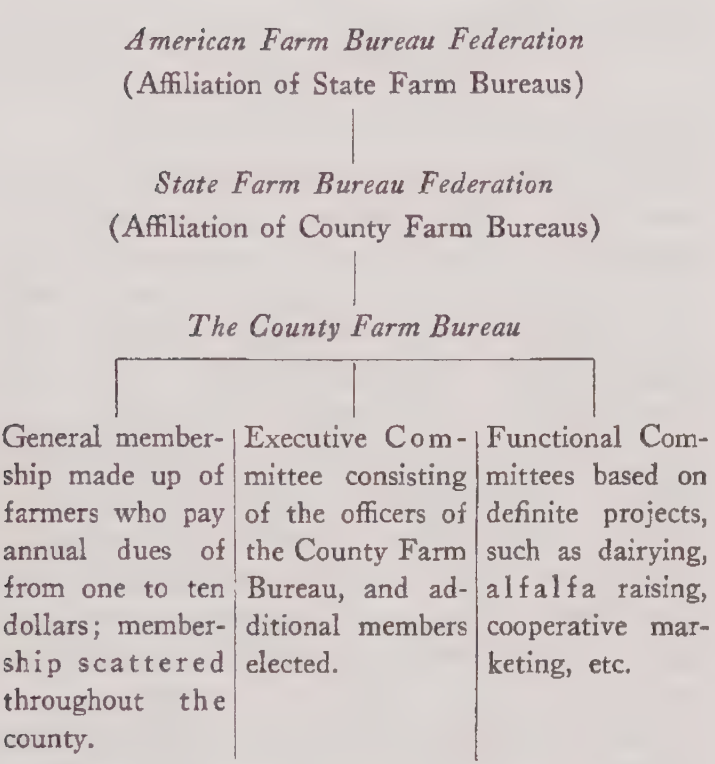
1. Calling of a community mass meeting.
2. Speakers asked to describe certain definite needs of the community.
3. Discussion.
4. Motion to organize improvement association.
5. Election of temporary officers.
6. Appointment of committees to draft constitution, select permanent officers, etc.
7. Organization meeting.
8. Work on definite projects of community improvement.

This type of organization should be classified as *direct* community organization. It does not, of course, include all citizens of the community,

but it does not represent specific groups. This category includes also such organizations as farmers' clubs and community clubs.

The *Grange* presents one of the most interesting studies in community organization extant. It began as a movement of economic cooperation among farmers, but developed into an organization in which social values superseded economic ones. The difficulty of classifying the Grange as a community organization arises from the fact that it is a secret society with ritual. There is one particular in which the Grange acted wisely and far in advance of its time. Its membership includes both men and women on a basis of equality. It is, perhaps, this fact which has caused the gradual change in emphasis from economic to social activities.

The *Farm Bureau* presents a new idea in *direct* organization. It is almost universally organized on the county basis, and hence cannot be regarded as a strictly community organization. It seems probable, however, that community units, such as exist in the State of California, will eventually grow out of the county organization. The unique feature of the Farm Bureau organization is its project basis of functioning. A brief analysis of the scheme of organization will serve to acquaint the student with its chief features:


American Farm Bureau Federation
(Affiliation of State Farm Bureaus)
State Farm Bureau Federation
(Affiliation of County Farm Bureaus)
The County Farm Bureau
General membership made up of farmers who pay annual dues of from one to ten dollars; membership scattered throughout the county.
Executive Committee consisting of the officers of the County Farm Bureau, and additional members elected.
Functional Committees based on definite projects, such as dairying, alfalfa raising, cooperative marketing, etc.

This represents the usual form of organization. There are variations which include local community committees; these local committees secure representation on a county basis by means of a county agricultural council, made up of the chairmen of the various community committees. Other variations provide for the affiliation of local farmers' clubs with the county Farm Bureau, the separate organization of

Home Bureaus for farm women, and the coordination of non-affiliated farmers' organizations. The membership in the county Farm Bureau is open to both men and women.

It should be remembered that the original impetus for Farm Bureau organization came through the county agricultural agents, who were cooperatively employed by the Federal Government, the State Colleges of Agriculture, and the local county. These agents, or demonstrators, found it necessary to develop some form of organization to make their educational programs effective. From this beginning has come the marvelous expansion which now includes farmers in over forty states, and which promises to be the most gigantic organization of farmers in the history of American agriculture.

There is a tendency to confine the activities of the Farm Bureau to economic problems. The farm women, however, will not be content with such a restricted program, and there are already evidences that the program will become more inclusive. When this emphasis gains sufficient ground, the necessity for local, community organization on the *direct* plan will become evident.

Institutional Examples of Direct Community Organization

In the fluid periods of social movements it frequently happens that strange and anomalous forms of organization occur. For a number of years service agencies or institutions, such as the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Recreation and Playground Association of America, the Boy Scouts, and numerous others entered communities, organized their own associations, and promoted their own specialized programs. When the tide set in, which seemed to point to a time when communities would be organized for their own interests, and in consequence the service agencies and institutions would then be brought to function in the sphere of their specialties,—some agencies attempted a broader type of community organization.

The American Red Cross proposed such a program immediately following the War. It was designed primarily for smaller towns, villages and open country communities. It included the employment of a county secretary, called the Home Service Secretary or the County Red Cross Organizer. The program was not restricted to the specialized activities of the Red Cross, such as health education, public

health nursing, disaster relief, etc., but contemplated recreational and other leisure-time activities, as well as family case work, and general civic improvement.

In a strict sense this form of organization cannot be called *direct,* inasmuch as the Red Cross did not contemplate supplanting other agencies or institutions, but rather proposed to assist them in reaching a higher degree of effectiveness. It is a *direct* method, however, in so far as it functions through voluntary memberships taken from all the citizens, and through committees appointed by and from this membership. In small, unorganized communities this type of organization is highly desirable, provided that the initiating agency performs this service with the fixed and stated purpose of eliminating itself, as a community organization, when it has succeeded in establishing sufficient agencies and institutions to carry out a balanced program. It now appears that this is the policy being pursued by the American Red Cross.

Community Service, Incorporated, projects a form of community organization which is also *direct,* but which assumes no elements of a community program which are not related to the problems of leisure time. It is *direct* in that it establishes itself in the community on the basis of a supporting membership, and functions

through its own committees. It is also indirect in its efforts to coordinate all of the recreational agencies within a community. It is this type of organization which enters a community for the expressed purpose of functioning in the field of its specialty, which is so common in American communities.

The Young Men's Christian Association promotes a community program which is *direct,* in that it secures memberships and functions through committees and officers of this membership. The community work of the Association grew out of extension programs carried on by city associations. It later developed a theory and a technique of its own, and was one of the first of the larger national agencies to place emphasis upon the local community as a functioning unit. The County Work Department of the Young Men's Christian Association (Rural) had already laid the foundation for a non-equipment program of work for men and boys, with the county as the organizing unit, and the local community as the functioning or program unit. Both of these departments have made creative contributions to the community movement. In cities where so-called community work is being carried on, in collaboration with a city association, it is more correct to call the distributed units of function—neighborhood units.

Twenty years ago the County Work Department of the Association laid down a few fundamental principles of community work; many of these are still the guide-posts of community leaders. Not the least among these principles was this: "*The resident forces are the redemptive forces.*" The implication of this principle is that national agencies have for their chief task the discovery, the training and the enlistment of resident leadership.

These examples of *direct* community organization do not in any sense include all of the various types and forms of community organization extant. Two primary institutions, the church and the school, have been experimenting with various forms of community organization for a number of years. There are numerous examples of churches which have achieved admirable forms of organization. However, any agency or institution whose membership is restricted to persons who subscribe to a certain religious creed, cannot hope to become a community organization agency or institution in the United States. At best, these institutions can hope to include in their active programs only sections of the population.

It is otherwise with the *public school.* This

institution is supported by all the citizens of the community. It is not an institution in the sense that it has members, but it has all of the other characteristics of a permanent institution. It is located on public property which may be put to such uses as the community desires. It functions through paid teachers who receive their salaries from public funds. The *Community Center* movement is probably the most definite form of *direct* community organization existing in the United States. Under the broadest definition of the term "education,"—an organization of citizens, centering about the public school, may promote the most varied type of program.

Utilizing the public school equipment and machinery for executing community programs is but a phase of the process of community organization. After the concession to use the school equipment and machinery is secured, there remains the task of securing the best services of the specialists and the specialized agencies, and the more difficult task of constructing a democratic piece of social machinery, through which the community may express its will. This process is much the same whether the school, the church, the community-house, or other existing institutions are utilized. It is frequently claimed that the community or-

ganization, radiating about the public school, is more likely to have all of the elements of Democracy than would be true in the case of other institutions. This is yet to be demonstrated. During the War, and after, many school centers suffered a sharp decline in interest and attendance; this was, in part, due to the abridgment of freedom of speech in the open forum meetings. In short, the public school is an institution controlled by governmental officials; these officials owe their allegiance to political parties. In crises, the public school becomes, not a free community institution, but the organ of one section of the population. Instead of waiting for Democracy to seep down from the governmental agencies to the local communities, it may be wiser to build Democracy upward from the smaller unit; when these smaller units are truly Democratic, the governmental units will be so, *ipso facto*.

The settlement house represents a specialized form of neighborhood organization. In its earlier days it measured its usefulness by the number of services which it rendered to the people living within the radius of its influence; its test of service is now based upon the number of needs which the neighborhood itself may be taught to meet in an organized way. This movement has made an important contribution

to the technique and philosophy of the community organization.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Formulate a list of the specialists in any given community, and state their numerical relationship to the total population.
2. Formulate a list of the institutions in any given community (institutions with specialized function).
3. Select ten of the most prominent citizens (men and women) of some community, and tabulate the number of organizations, agencies, institutions to which they belong, or to which they give support.
4. Analyze this sentence: "Social engineering, as it evolves toward the stage of art, will be more closely akin to the art of the poet than to that of the draughtsman or painter,"—and state reasons for or against it.
5. Select some form of community organization which conforms more or less closely to the *direct* type, and describe fully its history, its successes and failures, its scheme of organization, and the principles upon which it functions.
6. Complete the arguments for and against the *direct* method of community organization.

7. Select a community with at least five service agencies, and the usual other institutions, and formulate a plan of *indirect* organization which you think will suit the conditions.
8. By consultation with leaders learn and tabulate all of the arguments available for, and against, the pooling of budgets (community budgeting) of social agencies.
9. Complete the arguments for, and against, the *indirect* method of community organization.
10. Construct a list of organizations and institutions which function on the basis of *direct,* or *semi-direct,* organization; (a) in a given state, (b) in a given county, (c) in a given community.
11. Select some current form of community organization (such as the Grange, Farm Bureau, etc.), and make an analysis of the program and the steps involved in organization.
12. Prepare a bibliography on the Community Center movement in the United States. From selected readings, prepare a brief history of the movement.

CHAPTER XI

THEORIES AND PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION (Continued)

The *indirect* theory of community organization is based upon so-called group psychology. It assumes that the individual is vitally related to one or more of the vital-interest groups, through which he secures his self-expression. It assumes, further, that in a complex society the actual functioning process goes on through these groups and not through the citizenship as a whole. Politically considered, it stresses the forces *in* government rather than government itself. In the extra-governmental affairs of community life, this psychological theory makes the assumption that the organizations, agencies and institutions of a community constitute the real dynamic forces, and that community organization will be accomplished when these groups are inter-related and co-related.

The *federation* idea in community or organization is not new. The labor unions have followed this policy for a number of years. A *central labor union* is a federation of all of the

labor unions in a particular city. They are banded together in the city federation for community purposes only. Each local union has a relationship to its national union, and this relationship is direct.

The *Protestant Churches* have also had considerable experience in federating on the community basis. Unfortunately, these federations have been largely nominal and not functional. There are, of course, examples of organic federation among churches in which a number of denominations have agreed to pool church machinery, while at the same time retaining their denominational adherences.

City federations of *women's clubs* are the rule in most cities, and are exceedingly effective in bringing the organized force of womanhood to bear upon community problems.

The above types of federation among agencies or institutions with similar programs do not constitute community organization; they do make an approach to the organized community and constitute a basis for considering the *indirect* method which is now in the ascendancy.

Councils of Social Agencies

Community budgeting, or the pooling of the financial campaigns of all or of a number of the

social agencies within a community leads to further organization; inter-related financial relationships create a sense of co-related responsibilities. The organization of the service agencies in such manner as to produce a balanced program of social progress, to secure community-wide support, and to function in serving the entire community, is the first step toward assuring the best services of the specialists. Such organization should include specialists in health, education, family case work, child welfare, delinquency, dependency, crime and the various other phases of social work.

Councils of this type are developing rapidly in many sections of the country, and the time will soon be past when social agencies will be permitted to promote a purely unrelated program. A few of the principles thus far developed are:

First, the council has advisory powers only; it does not interfere with the administrative function of individual agencies.

Second, the council sets certain standards of professional service, which agencies must comply with when affiliation is effected.

Third, the council serves not merely to prevent overlapping and duplication of work, but is instrumental in extending the usefulness of individual agencies by marking out clearly the various fields.

Fourth, the council provides regular meetings of representatives of all affiliated agencies; at these meetings the community is looked upon as a "case study," and the part which each agency plays is clearly portrayed.

Fifth, the council serves to relate the agencies to larger groups of supporters.

Sixth, the council tends to diminish the particularistic viewpoint in social work, and promotes a unified outlook upon social progress in which all elements receive just attention.

There are numerous objections to the council plan of organizing social agencies. Among these objections there is but one that appears to be fundamental in character. Private agencies are built up through the enthusiastic support of a small group of citizens. These supporters become attached in a personal way to the agency. They receive considerable satisfaction from its successes, and their personal loyalties often lead them to make sacrifices which are admirable. It is feared by many that this intensive, personal loyalty of individuals to particular agencies and institutions will be minimized, or lost, through the organization of community councils of all agencies.

This is a well-grounded fear. Unless conscious plans are made to maintain a vitality of interest in particular agencies and institutions,

this result may be expected. The solution of this problem lies in the direction of a new technique, for the use of volunteer leaders in social movements. The positive values of co-ordinating social agencies are so great that this one objection must be overcome by a new strategy. Perhaps the clue to this problem is already manifest in the *compound* theory of community organization.

Community Councils

Community councils constitute a semi-direct method of interesting the citizenship of a neighborhood in its problems, but the functional portion of the organization must be classified as *indirect*. The city of New York proceeded with this form of community organization immediately following the War. Three factors in the organization need emphasis:

First, the citizens of a given neighborhood were organized in the form of a voluntary association, called a community council and sometimes named after the district or neighborhood.

Second, the council discussed its neighborhood problems, and appointed special committees to seek solutions.

Third, the council secured the assistance of all existing agencies and institutions in solving problems or meeting needs.

Fourth, the city-wide, or overhead, organization maintained a staff of specialists (health, recreation, etc.), who supplemented the existing agencies in meeting needs.

It will be seen that this plan involves features of both the *direct* and the *indirect* methods of organization, although it makes no provisions for the coordination of the specialists and the specialized institutions and agencies.

The Social Unit Theory of Community Organization

The compound (complex or combined) type of community organization was demonstrated in an experiment conducted in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio. An industrial section of the city was selected for the experiment. This neighborhood was designated the "social unit," as it was the small, cohesive cluster of the population in which there was a more or less face-to-face association. The area within the unit included a population of approximately 15,000 people. The organization proceeded upon the following basis:

A. *Block Councils* consisting of the residents within a block; all residents of both sexes over eighteen years of age were given the voting privilege.

B. *The Citizens' Council* composed of thirty-one members; one member chosen from each of the blocks within the unit. (One hundred families or five hundred people on the average in each block.)

C. *The Occupational Council* composed of the representatives of the skilled (specialist) groups serving in the district, such as physicians, nurses, recreation workers, teachers, social workers, ministers, and trade unionists.

D. *The General Council* composed of the members of the Citizens' Council and the Occupational Council.

E. *The Council of Executives* consisting of three executives (officers), representing respectively the Citizens' Council, the Occupational Council, and the General Council.

This plan of organization appears complex and involved. It becomes much more simple when regarded in the functional instead of the structural sense. In many communities, phases of this organization already exist as unrelated parts. Stated in the light of the theory of Democracy and Specialism, as discussed in this work, the Social Unit theory of community organization presents itself as follows:

The Democratic Process

Expressed in the organization of Block Councils.

Democratic Process translated in terms of will or action in the Citizens' Council.

NOTE. Any other form of democratic neighborhood organization could be utilized for this purpose.

Specialists

To secure group stimulus through organizations of the various specialists, such as medical associations, teachers' associations, etc.

Represented in the community program through their representatives on the Occupational Council.

The Community Program in Action

The meeting of the Democratic Process and the ideas of the Specialists in the General Council.

The unified community program placed into action through the Council of Executives, whose authority rests within the respective groups which they represent.

Variations of the Social Unit plan of community organization have been suggested, and are in some measure in operation. The theory is not invalidated because of certain features

which appear to be rigid in its structure. There are forms of community organization in which each specialist group, or committee, is supplemented by a like number of citizens chosen at large. This is but another means of attempting to relate the Democratic Process to increasing specialization. Wherever this is achieved, or approached, it may be said that real community organization in the modern sense is in operation. Many experiments are needed to determine the type of machinery best suited to a particular community. If the underlying philosophy is understood, and if the true objectives of community organization are clearly stated, the machinery will come into existence as a natural process.

Principles of Community Organization

With the above theories and examples of community organization in mind, the student may proceed to the task of stating definite principles to guide his thinking and his planning. The social sciences are still too fluid to permit of rigid definitions and dogmatic statements of law. Definitions are no sooner stated than a new process is set up which destroys their scientific value. But definitions and principles must be stated along the way, else thought can never be clarified. Such definitions and principles

should be regarded, not as rigid sign-posts along an unyielding mountain path, but rather as lightships directing ships across an ocean lane, whose direction is known but whose exact paths may vary.

Principle Number One

Community Organization is that phase of social organization which constitutes a conscious effort on the part of a community to control its affairs democratically, and to secure the highest services from its specialists, organizations, agencies and institutions by means of recognized inter-relations.

This principle is stated in the form of a definition; the definition appears to be the logical result and induction from what has gone before, in this attempt to study the community. It is a definition which involves the two principal problems of community organization, namely, the Democratic Process and Specialism. It will not satisfy those persons who are attempting to define community organization in terms of some particular scheme or plan. Any conscious effort on the part of a community to solve one or both of its primary problems is here considered as organically related to community organization. The methods by which various

communities approach this task are the mechanical aspects of community organization.

Principle Number Two

Vital-interest Groups provide the means of self-expression which have regard for like-mindedness and special capabilities of individuals. Such groups have come to be the vital, functioning parts of modern communities. The individual's relationship to such a group, or groups, need not be minimized in order to relate him organically and democratically to the larger community. He must be brought into the community process through the expression of his most vital interests.

This principle has already been discussed at length. It is the point of departure for many groups of proponents of community organization. The adherents of "pure" Democracy will have none of the "group" theory; to them this appears to be an abandonment of fundamental democratic theory in favor of "sovietism." The social realists, however, do not blink at words; they face the plain fact that modern communities function after the fashion of vital-interest groups. Rotary Clubs are consciously organized to secure representation of the various occupational and professional groups of the community. No one thinks of

calling them "soviets," and yet they resemble soviet or vocational representation more closely than any other current form of organization. Chambers of Commerce consciously organize to secure representation of the commercial, financial and manufacturing groups of a community. In complete community organization, this process must be extended; it must be extended to that point where all of the vital-interest groups are inter-related, and through this inter-relation there must come a definite relation between the groups and the total community population. Nothing is to be gained by closing one's eyes to the facts of evolution in social organization and process. Much is to be lost if we attempt to arrive at principles by hurling verbal "brickbats" at those who differ. If the group organization of modern communities is a social fact, it must be faced frankly. To many it is a hopeful rather than a distressing fact.

Principle Number Three

Conflict is inevitable in social process. Community organization does not propose to eliminate conflict but rather to rationalize it; the organized community creates means for bringing conflict into the "public square" where the solvent of discussion may be applied. Rightly understood, conflict becomes a positive force in arriving at

right decisions. This implies that the organized community must have free and uncontrolled avenues of expression of the common thought.

In unorganized communities conflicts smoulder in the darkness. Movements start, halt, are "put over" by a small, influential—but suspicioned—group, or die mysterious deaths. Opposition is felt but not seen. The public forum is non-existent or is "closed," instead of "open." When clear-eyed opposition presents itself, it is inexorably and dexterously submerged. The subterranean forces appear to be more powerful than the seen forces. All of this is contrary to good human relationships, and can only be avoided if the principle of the utility of conflict, with its accompanying principle of freedom of discussion, are openly recognized in community organization.

Principle Number Four

The *Stimulating Force* which causes a community to start toward organization may come from within or without the community. The particular "color" which the force takes on after it has started on its way, and the direction in which the force is to act, must come from within the community.

Studies of numerous community projects reveal the fact that success is not dependent upon the initiating force or agency. Outside agencies may be much more useful in supplying this stimulus than they will be afterwards in giving it direction. This is but a restatement of the main thesis of this book, namely, that Specialism has its place in social process, but that its guide must be Democracy. The outside agency creates a stimulus toward community organization and supplies certain elements of the technique for the early steps. It must then subordinate itself, until the Democratic Process steps in to make indigenous evaluations and adaptations. Too frequently the initiating agency fails to understand its proper function in this regard, and attempts to impose its formula step by step. This leads to serious reaction which imperils the community movement.

Principle Number Five

Projects inaugurated after community organization has begun must be carefully selected. Communities, like individuals, have whims and fancies; they also have periods of receptive enthusiasms with ensuing periods of depression. The first projects should be carefully initiated in the light of the study of community needs. It is safe to say, in a general manner, that

the best projects to use in the initial stages of community organization are those which represent the most vital need to the largest number of people.

This principle has been stated as the "law of preferential motives." "The community activities undertaken first should be those which will make the strongest appeal to the largest number, and which will involve the least antagonism and friction."[1] In discussing the law of preferential motives, one author states: "The first is the gregarious tendency; the second, the play instinct; the third, the work impulse; the fourth, the economic need; and the fifth, the cultural interest."[2] The latter category of preferential motives is likely to lead the student astray. Communities of varying longevity, varying composition, and of varying cultural backgrounds, will not follow this order of motives. There is value in the theory, however, and the student should interpret it in terms of particular cases. It is not intended as a mechanical law but is rather a hint at underlying principles. Interpretations concerning motives are affected by both the conscious (expressed) and by the subconscious (wished) desires. An inductive study of human organization would reveal the fact

[1] Dwight Sanderson, "Proceedings Third National Country Life Conference"
[2] N. L. Sims, "The Rural Community"

that the primary motives were economic in essence; a deeper insight into the subconscious longings of people might reveal the contrary fact, namely, that fellowship has been the real motive.

Principle Number Six

Leadership in community organization must keep its program at least "one step" in advance of the Democratic Process. No form of social organization needs leadership so vitally as Democracy, but it must be a differentiated leadership. The citizen who is successful in commercial or industrial discipline may not be amenable to Democratic discipline. Democracy needs, most of all, creative leadership; it must be constantly making proposals which lead the community along the road of idealism. The delicate task is to keep these ideals the "one step" ahead, while delegating the practical responsibilities to those whose "feet are on the earth."

An extended study of community leaders points to a more or less definite type of character. They are nearly all dreamers. They are, first of all, people who believe in the capacities of other people. They are persons gifted with that "divine discontent" which is unsatisfied with present achievements. Tragically enough, too many leaders with this equip-

ment of idealism lack the capacity of transplanting their ideals to the consciousness of others. It is not to be expected that the leaders shall have all traits of leadership; it is only hoped that they may know how to use the particular ones which they do have. This involves a technique of relationship between Leadership and Democracy, which is to be discussed later. At this point, it is desired to emphasize the idea of having the leadership of the community creative in character; this can only be accomplished if the leaders make proposals which are in advance of their time.

Principle Number Seven

Committees operating in and through community organizations need to be carefully selected; moreover, they need a definite technique of procedure. Small committees succeed better than large ones. Committees with special and definite tasks are better than standing committees with general responsibilities. Untried leadership receives its initial stimulus to greater capacity through committee work.

This is a very general statement regarding committees, and little more can be attempted within the space of this work. The rise and increase in vitality of committees constitutes one of the important developments in repre-

sentative government, and yet it appears to have received very little scientific study. Our state and federal legislative bodies function almost entirely on the basis of committees; the general gatherings are largely perfunctory. This is another manifestation of the division of labor in social organization.

Principle Number Eight

Publicity given to communities in the process of organization is apt to render the experiment ineffective. Well-meaning friends of a community movement are anxious to tell the "story" of the community that has started its organization. This "story" involves personalities. Other persons in the community know that all of the things told in the "story" have not happened, and if they are not entirely sympathetic they can sow the seeds of suspicion which will soon undermine the entire movement.

Community leaders, especially those representing certain private agencies, are extremely susceptible to the publicity virus. They seldom have the patience to wait until the community organization experiment has reached that stage of sympathetic regard where the citizens will support it vigorously before they begin allowing the newspapers to publish accounts. These

accounts or "stories" are embellished to the point where the residents of the community scarcely recognize themselves as the participators. The unsympathetic are provided with the most formidable of weapons—suspicion. They point to the discrepancies between what *had* happened and what the newspaper "story" says *has* happened. Those who have ulterior motives for wanting the community organized, those who are naturally suspicious, and those who are conscientiously opposed to Democracy, may now easily frustrate the movement. Nothing is so deadly to a community organization experiment as to have someone with authority say, "It sounds very well and looks very well on paper, but it doesn't exist." Leaders are not always to be blamed for this too frequent obstacle. Newspaper reporters often beguile them into publicity schemes, while their intentions are unquestionable. A reasonable amount of publicity is, of course, essential even in the initial stages of community organization, but the promoters must not be ambitious in displaying results that are merely hoped for; they must adhere to facts. After the community has been organized for a period of from one to three years, wider publicity is not so dangerous. Care must be exercised in all stages, however, to emphasize the community

and the community groups, rather than individuals. Democratic leadership is not envious; it exalteth not itself.

Principle Number Nine

Budgets for community organization should begin on a moderate plane and increase only in proportion to new or extended functions. One of the primary tests of Democracy is its ability to get on with the tools at hand. Most communities have sufficient social machinery; it needs gearing up—coordination, and the injection of the oil of cooperation. If a large budget is required at the outset, it will be difficult to increase this budget with increasing functions.

Most plans of community organization come to grief on the financial rock. Under the impetus of initial enthusiasm it is a great temptation to raise a large budget. It is easy to forget that budgets are usually more easily raised upon anticipation than upon fragmentary achievement. Moreover, a large budget at the beginning means the promotion of a program which soon gets beyond the comprehension of the average citizen; he becomes bewildered with activities. A small budget means concentration upon the existing agencies, organizations, and institutions; it fosters development of person-

ality and leadership. On the other hand, a large budget means the initiation of activities. When all of the local resources have been utilized and made effective, new functions will become necessary. At this point an increased budget may be called for; in fact, it will be asked for since the need is apparent.

Principle Number Ten

A *Critique* of community organization procedure should be provided for by the leaders of the movement. Wholesome self-criticism will save many plans from early destruction. A community organization should have a committee on research and criticism. The function of this committee should be to evaluate each step in the organization process.

Introspection breeds pessimism. Wholesome self-criticism promotes sound optimism. Community organization enthusiasts are likely to be somewhat temperamental, and temperamental persons seldom enjoy honest criticism. In our political system the party that is "in"—is subjected to a sharp, if somewhat crude, criticism. This is, in fact, the chief function of the defeated party—to make its principles felt through criticism of the successful party. A similar check is needed in social movements.

It is to be hoped that the social engineers of the community movement will develop a new technique of criticism; one that will proceed from within rather than from without. A body of the keenest minds of the community should be brought together periodically to evaluate everything that is done—in the name of community organization. At times, this committee should be supplemented by the criticisms of specialists from the outside. The results from this committee should, of course, be constructive. Nothing is to be gained by mere criticism. Tragic failures may be avoided by constructive critical examinations. The committee should, in reality, be one of research; constantly evaluating for the purpose of discovering newer and better ways of doing things, and constantly applying the principles of social science to the problems of the local community's organization.

The above principles are to be regarded as temporary inductions from experience and observation, covering only a limited number of communities. Community organization is one of the newest branches of applied social science. The social sciences do not attempt the formulation of static principles; human affairs are too fluid and non-mechanical to permit such a process. These principles, and the many others which need to be stated, should be supple-

mented by the student's experience. It is hoped that those engaged in the practical affairs of community organization will scrutinize them with care, and with no thought of sparing the author. He will be most eager to change the principles, when it is proved that change will promote scientific community organization.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Describe the processes involved in some form of federation of agencies or organizations with similar programs.
2. Devise a plan of organizing a council of social agencies for: (a) a community of 5,000 population, (b) a community of 25,000 population, (c) a community of 250,000 population, (d) a rural county.
3. Devise a plan for the organization of the governmental and the extra-governmental agencies functioning within a certain state; that is, devise a plan for a state council of social agencies.
4. Write a 500 word criticism of the Community Council plan of community organization.
5. Write a 1,000 word criticism of the Social Unit plan of community organization.
6. Write a definition of community organization.

7. Write an essay on the theory of social conflict, using some historical basis of special interest to yourself as a student.
8. Study two sets of community projects: one in which the project received its stimulus from an outside agency; and one in which the project originated within the community.
9. Make a brief study of some community, and state what projects you would use in beginning a plan of community organization. Give reasons.
10. Why are conservatives usually in power, while progressives are usually in the ascendancy in leadership?
11. Make several studies of the functioning of committees. Tabulate the processes and the results.
12. Outline a publicity program for a community organization campaign in a community of 50,000 population.

CHAPTER XII

CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

From whence shall come the force which will make Democracy effective in local communities? We now know how futile it is to speak of "making Democracy safe for the world," while it is still ineffective on the basis of our smallest social units—of families, neighborhoods and communities. Democracy will be safe only when its spirit is breathed into the homely tasks of the so-called common man. The program of this generation is not to make Democracy safe but to make it real. And what can make it real? What force can give to Democracy the same sort of reality which was revealed by Militarism in these recent days?

This question cannot be answered in terms of machinery. The Community Movement promises to be the vehicle by which Democracy is to be interpreted to the people of the earth.

But if the Community Movement consists of mere social machinery, we shall find ourselves lacking in motive power adequate to cause the

machinery to run. Two things are needed: *A Spiritual Motive for Democracy, and Leadership.* Both of these factors have entered into the foregoing discussions. Leadership has received direct attention, and religion, it is to be hoped, has been discoverable in numerous relationships.

The Elements of Democratic Leadership

Leadership in a Democracy cannot be inherited; neither can it be purchased. It comes only to those whose motives, purposes and faiths are in harmony with profound democratic principles. The more obvious traits of leadership, such as initiative, resourcefulness, loyalty, etc., have received adequate attention elsewhere; this discussion will be confined to the more or less neglected elements of leadership which are definitely related to Democracy and the community process.

(1) The Community Leader is frequently entreated to become a "four-square man." That is, he is reminded that his leadership depends upon a symmetrical development of his mental, physical, social and spiritual nature. In a general sense this is good advice; in a strict sense it is an impossibility. Such equality of endowments does not exist in the extremely variable development of man. In a scientific

sense, *the leader should make the highest possible use of his special capacities.* So far as the records indicate, Jesus was well developed physically; he appeared to have a real passion for "folks"—a sociable nature; he was intellectually alert. But the most ardent admirer of this Personality must grant that Jesus made the highest use of his specialty—his spiritual nature. His universal appeal comes not from his physique, his sociability, or his mentality, but from his spirituality. It is true that he interpreted the whole of life in terms of spiritual values, and to that extent he emphasized all aspects of life. He was, nevertheless, a spiritual specialist.

There is danger in dividing life into threes, fours and fives. Life is not so simple; it is multiple. And in a closely knit state of organization, man must select from his multiple capacities certain ones which he may so develop as to make his best contribution to society. The progressive community leader in modern society is one who neglects none of the vital aspects of living, but selects for emphasis the capacity with which he is especially equipped.

(2) The Community Leader's greatest temptation is to "do" things for the community, rather than create the means whereby the community may do things for itself. There are two

objections to this type of leadership: in the first place, it devitalizes the leader, and in the second place, it undermines the community. *Each time the leader does something for the community that the community might have done for itself, he prevents the community from developing its own resources.* This process in time becomes so devitalizing that whole communities appear to be without leadership. The principle is applicable even in cases where the leader's ability is superior to that of the community. (That is, of course, seldom the case but it is frequently imagined.) In a Democracy, the group must be permitted the right to make its own mistakes. Eventually, this process leads to the proper utilization of specialized leadership.

(3) The Community Leader who is constantly "doing things" instead of getting them done, can scarcely escape the dangers of personal advertisement. He comes to feel a certain pride in the multiplicity of activities which center about him. Personal advertising results in diminishing returns from leadership. *There is a certain "saturation point" in personal advertising; when this point is reached each succeeding mention of the leader's name tends to debase rather than elevate his position as a leader.* A study of several hundred leaders

such as secretaries of chambers of commerce, school superintendents, ministers, Y. M. C. A. secretaries, recreation leaders, etc., reveals the fact that their careers may be accurately charted according to the rise and fall of personal advertising. Many leaders escape the decline of leadership, due to personal advertising, by moving to a new field of service. Ministers and teachers appear to be especially susceptible to this sort of "call." Moving to a new and larger field may be profitable to the leader, but it is harmful to the community. The permanent leaders who live their lives in a single community, without diminishing influence, are those "who seek not their own glory." Studies of their lives indicate that they are cognizant of the more or less superficial values in newspaper publicity and personal advertising. In a Democracy, there is no scientific method whereby the leader may be entirely separated from his group; if he himself makes such a separation, he does so at the risk of sacrificing his leadership. Social reformers have a tendency to become "separatists" in this sense, and seldom fulfil the early promises of their lives.

(4) The Community Leader must generate ideas. When he becomes absorbed in the mechanism of activities he loses the capacity to create; his ideas grow stale. The only known

method of remaining in the creative class is to be free. The community leader who "belongs" to a clique in the community, or who is the mouthpiece for persons or forces unseen, can never be a creative leader. Creative ideas come out of the future and not out of the past. *The community leader in a Democracy must share the future.* His golden age must be translated in terms of the community in which he labors. Leaders come from all psychological types; one must choose his type. Since this is a psychological principle, it may be fruitful to make a brief analysis of the prevalent types of mind as related to creative ideas:

The *reactionary* thinks in terms of the past; he opposes change because it is change. He does not believe in progress.

The *conservative* thinks in terms of the present; he opposes change because it affects his stake in the present order. The true conservative is usually well grounded in the past. He believes in progress provided it comes slowly enough to be imperceptible to him.

The *liberal* thinks in terms of the future; he welcomes change as the only mode of growth and the principle of life. He believes in tentative progress.

The *radical* thinks in terms of a future fashioned according to his will; he usually

has a single solution for all present ills. He believes in absolute progress.

The community leader who hopes to make a real contribution to Democracy may be a member of any of the last three types. If he wishes to make a creative contribution he is limited to the last two types. And, if he wishes to be constructively active during his own lifetime, he must confine himself to the liberal type of mind. The liberal leader is not dogmatic. He is not particularistic. He sees life as a whole, but in emphasizing his own special interests does not preclude the same right to others in their chosen fields. He never shrinks from change. He is not a fatalist, but believes that man's destiny may be controlled by man's conscious planning. Because he believes that the future is in man's hands, he devotes himself to a profound faith in mankind. This faith in mankind leads directly to spiritual motivation. Man's life is fragmentary, incomplete; his ultimate well-being or perfection is a thing to be hoped for in faith. The liberal's faith in man, as an admittedly inescapable portion of the universe, furnishes his faith in the essential purpose underlying the universe, which is God.

(5) *The Community Leader believes that the fundamental and essential insights of life are within the reach of the so-called common*

man. He is not content with his ideas and ideals until they are comprehended and interpreted by the common man. He knows that all great social achievements of the race have been the result of the common man's awakened spirit. His chief task at the present stage of experimental Democracy is to interpret to, and with, the common man the function of the specialist. In short, the true community leader in a Democracy sows his seed in the minds of common men in the sure hope that if it is good seed it will bear its fruit in its time. When the group fails to sustain his ideas or ideals he does not condemn the group; he begins once more to clarify and to illumine. He never loses faith in his ideals nor in his group. His task is to bring his group to understand his ideals. All of this implies that the community leader possesses an "open mind, an understanding heart, and a free soul."

(6) The Community Leader has a *philosophy of life.* He does not seek to impose his philosophy upon others. He grants all others the same rights and privileges which he demands for himself. His technique never gets ahead of his philosophy. Nothing is done until he asks himself the question, "Why?" There is about the truly Democratic leader a certain calm and a certain steadiness which give proof

of sure foundations. His thinking is never "muddled." One often finds him in the realm of fancy, but not for long. His fancy leads quickly to argument and discussion. Then follows investigation, and out of his fanciful idealism emerges a scientific principle. He is not torn hither and yon by every wind that blows, and although his gaze is firmly fixed on the future, he approaches steadily, sequentially and calmly. His enthusiasms are genuine; they need not be fed by the ephemeral flames of flattery. He is willing to pay the price for each conviction and for each change in philosophy. And, because one knows that he has paid the price, his philosophy rings true.

Christianity: the Social Leadership Religion

There is a sense in which each individual must meet his God face to face, and alone. Religion considered with this signification belongs to theology and philosophy. There is another sense in which a man's religion has no reality outside of his behavior. This import of religion belongs to the sciences of sociology and ethics. It is difficult to speak of religion in this latter connection; our terminology is so cluttered with phrases of cant and of medieval sentimentalism that one is sure to be misunderstood when attempting a scientific interpretation. If

the religion which we pretend to believe in (Christianity) is to become effective as a dynamic force in community life, this risk of misunderstanding must not be shirked. "Language is like an instrument that requires to be tuned occasionally; as no generation can be satisfied to think the thoughts of the preceding one, so no group of men in the world of letters can use the language of the school that went before them." The language of religion is sadly in need of tuning. The sociologists who are attempting to bring science and religion together in the interests of man's welfare must, perforce, speak in a new tongue.

(1) *Christianity is primarily a philosophy of life, and secondarily a system of belief.* Those who reverse this concept cause separatism on the basis of differences of belief. In this divisional process, the ethical content of Christianity is subordinated. Religion is dominated by theology,—which consists of other persons' ideas about God, inspired writings, atonement, sacraments, original sin and the numerous other fractional elements of religion. Theology begins with assumptions based upon authorization. Philosophy begins with no assumptions and ends with rationalizations. Many of these rational concepts of philosophy harmonize with theological concepts, but they

become truth, not because someone has declared them, but because they have become true to the consciousness of the present individual. The sociologist accepts the philosopher's interpretation of religion. He applies the test of Jesus: "By their fruits ye shall know them." He sees in Jesus the heroic attempt to blend the mystical elements of religion with the ethical elements of life. From the mass of things written and said about Jesus, he selects those important words and acts (primarily acts) which have universal application.

Jesus made certain assumptions of behavior. He said that it was ethically right to love your enemy; He proceeded to demonstrate that this was a vital principle of His life. Jesus assumed that the natural corollary of the Fatherhood of God was the Brotherhood of Man. He demonstrated His principles by His life. Jesus illustrated His ideas of spiritualized social behavior by numerous examples of social situations. His favorite method of clarifying a principle of ethics was to imagine and to portray an exact situation in which two courses of action were open to the participators; He then proceeded to indicate the selection which would be made by the man whose religion motivated his actions. When He was asked for an explanation of His conception of the saving

powers of religion, He refrained from mentioning belief; He recalled a series of social situations in which one might or might not feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, take in the stranger, clothe the naked, visit the sick or those in prison. In sharpest contrast, He then portrayed the behavior of the religious and of the non-religious man.

Those who wish to spin fine theories of belief out of the fragments of the Life of Jesus have ample material. Those who view His Life as a whole, with the purpose of selecting from it those universal principles which are for all time, see in Him the personification of modern social idealism.

Since the ground was broken by Rauschenbusch, there has followed a forceful series of interpretations of the social significance of Christianity. But the Christianity of our day is firmly gripped by institutionalism. This is our danger; namely, that we shall subordinate the promotion of Christianity as a philosophy of life to the preservation of our own organized form of Christianity based upon some reformer's previous interpretation. It has been said that a conservative is a person who is following a dead radical. In no sphere of life does man dare less than in religion. Time itself seems to have a sacred part to play in making

revolutionary ideas of the past hallowed to the present. Paul said: "Prove all things; hold fast to that which is true." The only part of this valuable admonition which some seem to remember is to "hold fast." Unless Christianity can be permeated with the new spirit of dynamic social purpose, those who "hold fast" may find themselves clinging to the dry husk of institutionalism, while Christianity itself has flown through the windows into the lives of men.

(2) *The methods of Christianity are sociologically scientific.* Christianity is here used to connote the methods of Jesus and the early Christian Church. Jesus established certain socio-ethical principles; the early Christian Church applied some of those principles in social experimentation.

Since that time there has come into existence a body of scientific knowledge, regarding man as a *socius* or member of society. The so-called social sciences are dependent upon the physical sciences. The plural use of the term "science" is a misnomer; there are no sciences, but Science. When we speak of social sciences we use the plural form of the word merely to denote a division of science, and not to imply a separation. What is true of science, in general, is also true of the science of man and of society.

Science believes in the search for Truth. It has two major functions: to expose error and to reveal Truth. This was the philosophy and the method of Jesus. He believed so thoroughly in the liberating powers of Truth, that He said it alone could make one free. He used both methods of Science; He exposed error, sham, cant and hypocrisy wherever He found it,—and He supplanted error with Truth.

Science believes that Truths are demonstrable. It begins by observation of facts; from thence it follows through the processes of classification, experimentation, generalization, demonstration and induction. Jesus stated certain ethical and social truths. He then proceeded to demonstrate those truths in His own life. Thus, He said that it was possible to love one's enemies. His contemporaries had been taught the righteousness of hating enemies. The Truth of Jesus was in direct conflict with current thought. So far as the records go, He never gave way to hatred of His enemies. He not only demonstrated His Truth negatively, but went so far as to extend love to those who had persecuted Him.

Science believes in sharing its facts. There is an actual brotherhood of scientists. They do their work in the open. Their achievements are published for all to read. Occasionally a

bigot appears in the scientific field, but he is soon put to rout; science and bigotry have nothing in common. Jesus also did His work in the open. He trained His followers in His methods. He promised that greater things might be done by them than He had done. He imposed one condition: those who would follow in His steps must be willing to pay the price. There was nothing of quackery about His method of work.[1]

The adherents of the early Christian Church believed in the socio-ethical principles of Jesus. They established a social and an economic system based upon these principles. They refused to enter certain trades such as the manufacture of idols. They refused to bear arms, and placed their religion above nationalism. The ethical and spiritual dangers of vested interests in property were clearly recognized. They believed in peaceful revolution—changing the social structure with the weapons of non-resistance. Their faith was not placed in legislation, but in the fundamental changes of the heart coupled to similar fundamental changes in the social structure and process. All of this is still good science. It would be folly to pretend

[1] The above passages regarding the scientific nature of the methods of Jesus have been borrowed largely from the illuminating paragraphs of Professor Arthur J Todd's book, "The Scientific Spirit and Social Work," Macmillan, pp 70-80

that the exact methods of Jesus and the early Christians could be utilized in the present, but the unfolding of the social sciences appears to prove that the principles indicated are increasingly true.

(3) *Christianity has a community obligation.* We must now distinguish between Christianity and the Church. The Church is a mechanism. It operates by means of boards, committees, memberships, institutions—all phases of social mechanics. Jesus trained a few people in a simple technique before the day of modern church programs. He interpreted God as social purpose—the central figure in the Kingdom of Heaven. Every problem was to Him, first of all, a religious problem, and secondarily, economic, political ~~or social.~~ His emphasis was upon the twofold salvation of the individual and society. He once announced the tremendous sociological fact that the Kingdom of God was in man. The mystics have appropriated this statement as an indication of the extreme mysticism of Jesus. The socially-minded have an equal right to interpret it as an implication of Jesus' fundamental belief that the Kingdom of God and the Democracy of Man are synonymous.

We now have "communities of Christians that are not Christian communities." There

are church-going populations whose religion is used in much the same manner as a napkin; it is worn during the church service on the Sabbath day and promptly removed when the service is over. One day in seven the respectable, law-abiding, right-minded people of the community turn aside from their usual tasks to receive spiritual nourishment. The pastor, a specialist in spiritual forces, provides them with discourse, song and prayer. And the old, old evils continue. Business men drive sharp bargains in utter forgetfulness of the social principles of Jesus, namely: that it is ethically unjust to do unto others as you would not be done by. It is true, we refine our methods as social contacts and controls become more intimate, but to make gain at the expense of another's loss is social sin under any guise. The leisure time of the people—that great reservoir out of which should come the creative expressions of the community—is turned over to commercial agencies who entertain for "revenue only" and

". . . man with man
Jostles, and, in the brawl for means to live,
Life is trod underfoot,—Life, the one block
Of marble that's vouchsafed wherefrom to carve
Our great thoughts, white and godlike, to shine down
The future . . ."

Competition rises superior to cooperation. Class differences are allowed to become class hatreds. Now and then an idealist lifts his voice in protest, but the Christians become the persecutors of his like. They are now in the saddle and riding hard. The Christians are the comfortably successful people of our time, and it is discomforting to imagine how they would receive the homeless, wandering, divinely discontented teacher who was the Christ.

When Tolstoy came to a realization of the universal Truth and Power of Jesus, he cried out in anguish: "If Christians believe what they say, how *can* they live as they do?" He then proceeded to experiment with Christianity by running away from the problems of the modern community. This cannot be our method. Christianity may have its other-worldly function, but it is also in the world to save the world. No true follower of Jesus can escape his social obligations.

What then is the Christian obligation to the community? The so-called common people, who heard Jesus so gladly and who received so much attention from Him, are gradually drifting away from the organized Church. They are seeking the expression of their social idealism elsewhere. The Church is coming to be a middle-class institution whose very architecture

and service cause the manual worker to feel out of place. Without them,—the so-called common people,—no success of the Church will be worthy of the name of Christ. The processes of education are growing apace. Soon the working peoples of the world will be equipped with the intellectual tools of leadership. The true Christian is determined that these tools shall be wielded with more of the grace of Jesus than has been true of the authoritative use of the tools in the hands of the ascendent classes of the past two centuries. This is Christianity's first obligation: *to make the creative social movements of our time Christian in character.*

Inasmuch as this book is predicated upon the thesis that the creative social movement of the future is to be fundamentally and originally a Community Movement, it is incumbent upon the writer to indicate how Christianity may render its obligation in the field of the local community.

Christianity and the Community

The Christianity of the modern world has two distinct aspects:

(a) It is organized in the form of institutions known as churches.

(b) It is a functional reality in agencies, organizations, institutions, movements

and individual lives,—as an unorganized system of idealism and behavior.

The person who would orient Christianity to the modern world, or vice versa, must be interested in both aspects of the problem.

The Church as an institution, in order to play a vital rôle in the Community Movement, should consider the following program:

(a) It should emphasize the universal rather than the fractional elements of the Christian religion.

(b) It should emphasize the scientific rather than the mystical elements of the Christian religion.

(c) It should emphasize the ethical rather than the creedal factors of the Christian religion.

(d) It should emphasize the social rather than the individual function of the Christian religion.

(e) It should emphasize its special function, namely, the spiritual interpretation of the values of life.

(f) It should recognize the law of the division of labor in social affairs.

(g) In delegating tasks to other agencies, organizations and institutions, it should not relinquish its interest and its supervisory control.

(h) It should train leaders for all worthy causes leading toward social progress.

(i) It should apply its principles freely to all political, social, economic, recreational and educational problems of the community.

(j) It should furnish the inspiration of the spiritual dynamic for running the social machinery of the community.

The above program is overwhelming to most people. Not many churches will dare to undertake it; it would most certainly cause many churches to come to grief. In those same churches there would be "good" members who would not blush to affirm that if the principles of Jesus could be applied to our modern problems they could all be solved. Here and there a few churches will make the venture, firmly resolved that the Community Movement shall be Christian in character. In them will be required a faith strong enough to stand with Jesus in believing that there are times when life can only be gained by its loss. For the Christian Church the time for this test has come.

STUDENT'S PROBLEMS

1. Chart the careers of a number of community leaders such as school superintendents or principals, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W.

C. A. secretaries, chamber of commerce secretaries, etc., indicating, if possible, the causes of rise and fall.

2. Study the files of the newspaper of some smaller city to determine the nature and the amount of publicity given to certain community leaders.
3. Write an essay on Jesus' methods of training leaders.
4. Prepare a bibliography on each of the following topics:
   (a) Community organization.
   (b) Community studies.
   (c) Community leadership.
   (d) Community recreation.
   (e) Community churches.
   (f) The Rural Community.
5. Prepare a list of the national agencies dealing with community organization problems.
6. Prepare a bibliography on the social significance of the teachings of Jesus.
7. Outline the plans for an inter-church committee for a community with which you are familiar; this committee to be charged with the task of preparing a code of ethics for its members. The code should include ethics of business, politics, amusement and sociable life.
8. Study the history of the early Christian Church; prepare a list of the community

problems of that time, and indicate how the early Christians met these problems.

9. Study the biographies of a number of leaders of your acquaintance; indicate their characteristics and state how these traits do or do not approximate Christ's mode of life.

10. Prepare a confession of faith which will serve as a tentative background for your philosophy of life.

ADDENDUM

A TWENTIETH CENTURY CONFESSION OF FAITH

I have frequently been asked by students to prepare a Twentieth Century Confession of Faith. In a certain crisis caused by misunderstandings, I formulated such a statement. It has apparently been of some constructive value to students; a letter, which came as the closing paragraphs of this book were being written, is the cause for adding the Confession.

The Confession is not intended to be a creed. It is merely a statement of the positive portions of my present faith. No finality is attached to any section.

I. I believe in *God* who is Love, Truth and Purpose; God who works with man and not merely for him; God who fashions ends, not beginnings; God who is purpose, not cause. Because of the fragmentary nature of my own life I find it most difficult to lead a unitary existence without such faith.

II. I believe in *Jesus of Nazareth,* the teacher of Christian ethics and religion. I believe so firmly in the universality of His principles and teachings that I think the world's fundamental social, economic and political problems could be solved if those principles could be freely applied.

III. I believe in *Science* which is the revelation of what *is.* The truth of science is a vital part of that Truth which alone can make us free.

IV. I believe in *Religion* which is the revelation of what *is to be.* To me every problem is first a religious or a spiritual problem; by uniting Science and Religion I arrive at practical idealism.

V. I believe in *Evolution.* To me the one outstanding and verifiable fact of the universe is that nothing is static, and that everything changes. An understanding of the evolutionary processes gives me freedom from the "hell of rigid things."

VI. I believe in *Progress.* It comes, not as the result of blind force, but only when the purpose of God and the will of man approximate the same plane. Progress is the result of conscious control; it never comes by accident. Retrogression is the expected result of uncontrolled human passions and instincts; progress is the exceptional result.

VII. I believe in the so-called *Common Man.* It is through him that all great upward movements of history have been brought about. The fundamental insights of life are within his reach; given the slightest amount of freedom his course is upward and onward. The favored and privileged stand in greatest need of redemption.

VIII. I believe in *Liberalism* as a habit of thought. Truth is relative like all other factors of human existence. Therefore, I may heartily disagree with what another says, but with Carlyle I may also "fight to the death for his right to say it." The liberal thinks in terms of tentative progress; he bides his time and puts his faith in change.

IX. I believe in the *Organic Nature of the Human Family.* Whether we will it or not, the human family is destined to rise or fall as a unit. All men are destined to be my brothers, if by no other token than the economic forces which bind us together with bands of steel.

X. I believe in *Democracy.* That there can be a state of society in which I may work with enthusiasm for myself but with equal enthusiasm for the common good is to me a hopeful reality. The mere machinery of Democracy is incidental. "Isms" lose their significance when we approach Democracy as a mode of life.

What the world now needs is spiritual dynamic in sufficient quantity to effect an harmonious relationship between the Democratic Process and Specialism.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN.

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